A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* JOHN *continued.*

THE pope, in his letter to John, had insinuated that he might bring himself into great inconveniencies, should he refuse to receive Langton. This kind of language was but ill calculated to gain upon a prince of John's temper: in his answer, he gave his holiness to understand, that he was firmly resolved to maintain the honour of his crown, and support the

election of the bishop of Norwich; and that unless he was gratified in this particular, he would suffer no appeals in ecclesiastical disputes to be carried before any foreign court of judicature.

These menaces were immediately put in execution; all intercourse with the court of Rome being strictly prohibited, and the exercise of the papal power in England entirely suspended. The pope, incensed at this attack upon his authority, sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to exhort the king, in his name, to receive Langton, and restore the monks of Christ-church; and, in case of refusal, to lay the kingdom under an interdict.

The three prelates executed their commission; and the king, to avert the impending danger, offered to obey the pope's order with a saving of his rights, dignity, and prerogative; but Innocent would hear of no salvo; on the contrary, he insisted upon the king's delivering the regalia, with his own hand, to archbishop Langton, and making immediate and full restitution to the see and convent of Canterbury.

John rejected these conditions; and the three prelates having laid the kingdom under an interdict, retired to the Continent, whither they were followed by the bishops of Bath and Hereford. A stop was immediately

diately put to divine ſervice, and the adminiſtration of all the ſacraments but baptiſm: the church-doors were every where ſhut; marriages were celebrated and women were churched in the church-yard; and the dead were buried in ditches and highways, without the uſual rites or any funeral ſolemnity.

Theſe rigorous meaſures were intended to make an impreſſion upon the minds of the populace, whom, nevertheleſs, the pope indulged in their ſuperſtitious adoration of the croſs on Good-Friday, when it was allowed to be brought out of the church for that purpoſe: he likewiſe gratified them in their extreme fondneſs for wakes, the churches being opened for prayers on the anniverſary feaſts of their dedication.

John, incenſed at this interdict, ordered all the clergy, who obeyed it, to depart the kingdom; and ſeized the lands and revenues of all their ſees, abbies, and benefices; allowing them only a ſlender maintenance out of the produce of their own eſtates. But this order, which was never executed in all its rigour, was ſoon recalled; though the clergy, indeed, were ſufficiently puniſhed by being deprived of the power of obtaining redreſs of their grievances in any court of juſtice.

Notwithſtanding the implicit obedience uſually paid to the pope's orders, ſome of the clergy ventured to diſregard the interdict. The Ciſtertian order continued to perform divine ſervice publickly; the biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich ſlighted the cenſure; ſeveral of the parochial clergy ſtill officiated; nor were there wanting ſome learned divines, who openly maintained the royal cauſe, and condemned the injuſtice of the pope's proceedings.

But this interdict, however terrible, was not the greateſt evil which John had reaſon to fear: he daily trembled with the apprehenſion of being excommunicated by name, and ſeeing his ſubjects abſolved from their oaths of duty and allegiance *. To prevent the bad effects of this cenſure, ſhould it ever be inflicted, he ſent his officers, accompanied with armed troops, to all the nobility, whom he ſuſpected of diſaffection, to demand their children or relations, as hoſtages for their fidelity. Moſt of them complied with his demand; but when the officers came to the houſe of William de Braouſe, lord of Brecknockſhire, his wife, who overheard the meſſage, told them, with a reſolute air, that ſhe would never truſt her children in the hands of a man who had murdered his own nephew and right-

* A. D. 1208.

rightful ſovereign. The huſband gave a civil and reſpectful anſwer, but delivered no hoſtages; and John was ſo provoked at the cutting reproach thrown upon him by the lady, that he ſent a body of forces to ſeize William, who fled into Ireland with his wife and family.

The emperour Otho, who was greatly concerned at the dangerous ſituation of king John's affairs, preſſed him earneſtly to compromiſe his differences with the pope, and ſent his brother Henry, duke of Saxony, into England, to recommend the ſame ſalutary meaſure; but all his remonſtrances proved ineffectual, though Henry was rewarded for his good offices, with a penſion of a thouſand marks a year to himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum of money for the uſe of his brother *.

In order to prevent an inſurrection in England, in caſe the pope ſhould proceed to extremities, John reſolved to adjuſt all his diſputes with the king of Scotland, that the rebels might be deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance from that quarter.

The Scots being maſters of Berwick, which was the key or paſs to England, had frequently committed great depredations in the county of Northumberland.

To

* A. D. 1209.

To prevent these incursions, the English had endeavoured to erect a fortress on their own side of the river, at Tweedmouth; but the Scots had twice interrupted the work, surprized and massacred the guards, and destroyed the fortifications. This was the occasion of great animosity between the two nations; and William had widened the breach by affording shelter and protection to the male-contents of England. In order, therefore, to compromise these differences, John made some proposals for an accommodation; but these being rejected, he advanced with a great army to Norham in Northumberland; and William took post at Roxburgh, to cover his dominions from an invasion. Neither prince, however, seemed to be fond of a battle: the negotiation was immediately renewed, and a peace concluded on the following conditions; that the unfinished castle of Tweedmouth should be demolished; that John's two sons, Henry and Richard, should espouse Margaret and Isabel, the daughters of William, who were to be delivered to the king of England, to be educated at his court, together with fifteen thousand marks for their portion; and that the fealty and homage due from the Scottish kings for the lands they held in England, should, for the future, be paid not by the possessor,

but

but by the heir of the crown of Scotland. In conſequence of this agreement, William reſigned thoſe lands to John, who beſtowed the inveſtiture of them upon young Alexander; and that prince did him homage at Alnwick.

Matters being thus ſettled to the ſatisfaction of both parties, John returned to Woodſtock, where he exacted an oath of fealty and ſubmiſſion from all his vaſſals above the age of twelve years; and theſe orders were ſo univerſally obeyed, that even the Welch repaired to his court, and did him homage.

Such was the vicious and perverſe diſpoſition of John's heart, that he ſeemed to delight in mortifying and harraſſing his ſubjects without any apparent neceſſity. He now iſſued a proclamation prohibiting the diverſions of hawking, hunting, and fowling. He likewiſe ordered the mounds of his foreſts to be levelled, the hedges to be cut down, and the ditches filled up, that his deer might have liberty to range at large, conſume the corn, and deſtroy the fruits in the neighbourhood.

But theſe acts of deſpotiſm were followed by an inſtance of cruelty which added another ſtain to his character, already ſufficiently infamous. A clergyman at Oxford happening to kill a woman by mere acci-

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dent, fled from the kingdom to avoid a proſecution. John, who both hated and dreaded the clergy, embraced this opportunity to wreak his vengeance upon ſome others of the order. He granted a warrant to arreſt and impriſon three innocent prieſts, who were afterwards hanged by a royal mandate without any form of trial; an act of barbarity, which enraged the ſtudents of Oxford to ſuch a degree, that no leſs than three thouſand of them quitted the univerſity; by which means the place was almoſt totally abandoned.

Such cruel and tyrannical meaſures would have been extremely imprudent at any time; but they ſeemed to be the effect of abſolute madneſs at this period, when he every moment expected to ſee the bolt of excommunication launched againſt his head, and his ſubjects abſolved from their oaths of duty and allegiance.

In order, however, to ward off this fatal blow, he had ſent the abbot of Beaulieu, a convent of Ciſtertians, which he had lately founded in Hampſhire, as his ambaſſador to Rome, to effect, if poſſible, an accommodation with the Roman ſee. But as it was extremely difficult to carry on a negotiation at ſuch a diſtance, Innocent gave inſtructions to the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, to ſettle the terms of a paci-

a pacification. Accordingly, theſe prelates being furniſhed with a paſs, repaired to England; and John appointed ſome biſhops and noblemen to treat with them at Canterbury.

The articles were ſoon adjuſted and ſigned by the deputies on both ſides; and the ſum of an hundred marks was given to each of the three prelates, as alſo to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Hereford, as an earneſt of the reſtitution of their manors. But the articles being ſubmitted to the conſideration of the king, he objected to one of them, by which he was obliged to reſtore all that he had taken from eccleſiaſtics; and the prelates refuſing to agree to any alteration, immediately returned to the Continent.

The negotiation was afterwards carried on with Langton himſelf, who came to Dover upon a ſafe-conduct, which was religiouſly obſerved. Geoffry Fitz-peers and ſome other noblemen were deputed to make him propoſals in the king's name; but theſe the archbiſhop haughtily rejected, and left the kingdom immediately. He was afterwards invited to return, and the ſum of four thouſand marks was depoſited in the hands of the knights-templars, as part of the mean profits of his ſee, the full reſtitution of which he was to receive upon

upon his arrival; but he refuſed the invitation; and the three biſhops, delegated by the pope for this purpoſe, denounced, in the month of November, the ſentence of excommunication againſt the perſon of the king of England.

It was publiſhed in France; but though ſeveral Engliſh biſhops and abbots were enjoined to promulgate the cenſure every Sunday and holiday, in all the conventual churches in the kingdom, nobody would venture to undertake the dangerous office.

However, it was well known, that the ſentence was iſſued out by the court of Rome, and this general knowledge was like to have produced ſome bad effects. Geoffry, archdeacon of Norwich, and one of the barons of the Exchequer, obſerved to his colleagues, that he did not think it ſafe for beneficed perſons to continue in the ſervice of an excommunicated prince, and accordingly retired from the bench without permiſſion: but John was no ſooner informed of his declaration, than he ordered him to be ſeized, impriſoned, and loaded him with an iron cope, the intolerable weight of which is ſuppoſed to have put an end to his life.

This ſevere puniſhment did not deter others from paying ſome deference to the authority of the pope. Hugh, archdeacon

of

of Wells, and chancellor of the kingdom, being promoted to the ſee of Lincoln, and, having got leave to go abroad to receive conſecration from the archbiſhop of Roüen, repaired immediately to the abbey of Pontigny, where he was conſecrated by Stephen Langton, to whom he made profeſſion of canonical obedience. John was ſo enraged at this inſtance of partiality to the court of Rome, that he ſeized the revenues of his ſee, and deprived him of the poſt of chancellor, which he conferred upon Walter de Grey; and as the ſentence of excommunication was not yet publiſhed in England, he puniſhed all thoſe who paid any regard either to that or the interdict. In theſe vigorous meaſures he ſeems to have been countenanced by his nobility; for a fuller aſſembly was never known than that which now attended his court at Windſor during the Chriſtmas-holidays.

John embraced this opportunity, of exacting large ſums of money from his ſubjects, under pretence of making an attempt to recover Normandy; and of ſettling the affairs of Ireland, which had lately been involved in great perplexity and confuſion *.

* A. D. 1210.

How willing ſoever the laity might have been to contribute their proportion, the clergy were certainly fleeced by mere violence and extortion: inſtead of impoſing a regular tax, he exacted money, by way of compoſition, from monaſteries, canons, templars, hoſpitallers, and every other religious order.

It is not to be imagined, that, while John plundered his other ſubjects with ſo little mercy, he would allow the Jews to eſcape with impunity. Their perſons were treated with great cruelty; their houſes, lands, effects, and ſecurities were ſeized throughout the whole kingdom; and according to the annals of Waverly, no leſs than ſixty thouſand marks were extorted from them alone.

Having thus repleniſhed his Exchequer, he levied a numerous army, with which he embarked for Ireland, and landed ſafely at Dublin on the ſixth of July. Immediately after his arrival, he received the homage of above twenty Iriſh lords, who came to make him a tender of their ſervice; but Cathol, king of Connaught, refuſing to ſubmit, he marched into his country, and reduced him to obedience.

In order to civilize the manners of the people, which, as yet, were extremely rude and barbarous, he introduced the Engliſh laws

laws into the iſland, and appointed proper judges to ſee them carried into execution. John de Grey, biſhop of Norwich, was created juſticiary, and ordered the money to be new coined of the ſame value with that of England, for the greater convenience of trade and commerce between the two kingdoms.

But though John might ſometimes be led, by the prudent advice of his courtiers, to give his attention to the regulation of public affairs, his natural diſpoſition, when left to itſelf, was always ſure to excite him to the gratification of his private pique and reſentment. Hugh de Lacy, it ſeems, earl of Ulſter, and his brother Walter, lord of Meath, had given ſhelter to William de Braouſe, when he fled into Ireland to avoid the effects of John's indignation.

This ſtep, it was imagined, might have been the more eaſily excuſed, as Walter had married Braouſe's daughter, and could hardly refuſe protection to his own father-in-law; but it was in vain to expect any indulgence on that account from a tyrant, who was an utter ſtranger to all the tender feelings of the human heart. He was ſo incenſed at the Lacys for the countenance they had ſhewn to William, that he advanced into their territories, reduced their caſtles, and compelled them both to quit

the kingdom. William eſcaped into France, and died at Paris; but his wife and eldeſt ſon having fled into Scotland, were ſeized by Duncan de Carrick, and delivered up to John, who committed them to cloſe priſon, where they are ſaid to have been ſtarved to death.

John, having ſettled the affairs of Ireland in the beſt manner his narrow capacity would admit, returned to England, and ſummoning an aſſembly of all the abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, and chiefs of all the other religious orders in the kingdom, extorted from them above an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

The king, in many of his taxations, ſeems to have been actuated rather by his animoſity againſt the clergy, than the urgency of his own wants. Enraged, as he was, againſt the Ciſtertians, who had refuſed to contribute their proportion to his laſt impoſition, and had pleaded, in excuſe, the privileges granted to their order by the pope, he now fleeced them to ſuch a degree, that almoſt all their houſes were reduced to beggary, except the convent of Margam in Glamorganſhire, where he had been entertained in his way to Ireland, and at his return; and that of Beaulieu in Hampſhire, which he himſelf had founded, as an act of penance for the murder of Arthur.

Theſe

These two were exempted from this exaction; but all the rest were not only impoverished, but debarred all correspondence with their order abroad; no English Cistertian being allowed to cross the sea, nor any foreign one to come into England. This prohibition, indeed, was, soon after, extended to the whole body of the people: an embargo was laid upon the shipping in all the harbours of England; and every kind of intercourse between this kingdom and the Continent, without an express licence, was entirely cut off *.

About the same time, a proclamation was published, requiring all English bishops and ecclesiastics, residing in foreign parts, to return within a limited time, otherwise their rents would be seized for the king's use. A commission was likewise issued for enquiring into the right by which incumbents held their livings, in consequence of which, all those who had been presented by Stephen Langton, since his consecration, or by the exiled bishops, from the time of their leaving the kingdom, were ejected and banished. John had lately published an edict, prohibiting the exercise of the papal authority in England; and he now found it necessary to renew the prohibition on pain of corporal punishment.

* A. D. 1211.

Not ſatisfied with the immenſe ſums he had already extorted from the clergy, he ſaddled them with another talliage to defray the charges of an expedition againſt the Welch, who had infeſted the Engliſh borders. Accordingly having aſſembled a numerous army at Oſweſtre, he advanced along the ſea-coaſt as far as Conway, waſting the adjacent country with fire and ſword.

Llewellyn, prince of North-wales, unable to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh, cauſed all the inhabitants of Denbigh and Flintſhire to retire, with their cattle and effects, into the mountains of Snowdon in Caernarvonſhire, and then infeſted the roads with parties of light horſe, ſo that the enemy were obliged to retreat for want of proviſion.

But John having remedied this inconvenience, and re-inforced his army with a conſiderable number of freſh troops, returned to Conway, burnt Bangor, and committed ſuch depredations in the country, that Llewellyn was obliged to ſend his wife Jane, the king's own natural daughter, to ſue for peace, which was granted upon his paying twenty thouſand head of cattle, forty horſes, ſwearing fealty, and delivering hoſtages for his good behaviour; after which John returned in triumph to Whitehurch, and levied a ſcutage of two marks a fee upon all

all knights who had not attended him in the expedition.

Soon after, he convoked a general council of his lay nobility at Northampton, to treat with Pandulf, a Roman ſub-deacon, and Durand, a knight templar, whom the pope, in compliance with John's requeſt, had ſent into England, to accommodate all differences between the regal and pontifical power. John readily agreed to receive Langton as archbiſhop of Canterbury, and reſtore the exiled biſhops and clergy to the poſſeſſion of their dignities and revenues, but abſolutely refuſed to make reſtitution of the mean profits of their ſees and benefices; and the two nuncios finding him inflexible, returned to France, after having publiſhed the ſentence of his excommunication.

Notwithſtanding this violent proceeding, he ſtill continued to ſet the pope at defiance *. The interdict had laſted for almoſt four years without producing any dangerous effects; and he utterly diſregarded all the menaces of his holineſs, while he ſaw himſelf obeyed by his ſubjects even in his moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures. From theſe circumſtances he concluded that Innocent would ſtill be brought to conſent to more reaſonable terms, in order to

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* A. D. 1212.

to obtain which he ſent ſome of his chaplains to Rome, to treat with the pope in perſon.

Mean while, he had another conference with the king of Scotland at Durham, where the alliance between the two crowns was again renewed; and young Alexander, now in the fourteenth year of his age, accompanied him to London, and was knighted by the king at Clerkenwell: at the ſame time he received the homage of Alan, lord of Galloway, for a large tract of country he had given him in the north of Ireland.

Innocent, provoked at John's obſtinacy in rejecting the terms of peace he had offered by his nuncios, and finding little ſatisfaction from the promiſes or conceſſions of the Engliſh deputies, reſolved, at laſt, to proceed to extremities. Accordingly he iſſued a bull, abſolving all his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all perſons to avoid him, at table, in council, in common converſation, and in every other intercourſe of life, on pain of excommunication.

This terrible ſentence (for ſuch it was then deemed) was followed by letters from his holineſs to the king of France, and other princes, commanding them to fall upon his territories, and diſtreſs him as an enemy

enemy to the church. Among others, he wrote to Llewellyn, prince of North-wales, preſſing him to invade England, abſolving him from the oath of fealty he had lately taken, and releaſing his country from the interdict in which it had hitherto been involved in common with this kingdom.

Llewellyn obeyed the orders of his holineſs with the greater alacrity, as he had thereby an opportunity of ſerving his own intereſt. Vexed, as he was, at the loſs of Flintſhire and Denbighſhire, which he had been obliged to reſign at the laſt treaty, he greedily ſeized this occaſion of re-annexing theſe counties to his hereditary dominions. For this purpoſe, having engaged in an aſſociation with the neighbouring princes and barons, he fell upon the Engliſh marches, took caſtles, maſſacred garriſons, burnt towns, and ravaged the country, from which he carried off an immenſe booty. The caſtles of Diganwy, Ruthlan, and Mathraval were ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; but the laſt of theſe was actually inveſted by the enemy, when John having levied a numerous army, advanced to its relief.

Llewellyn, being informed of his approach, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his forces; and John having ordered the place to be demoliſhed, and not chuſing

to

purſue the enemy into their mountains and faſtneſſes, returned to Nottingham. Here he was guilty of an act of barbarity, at which the humane and compaſſionate reader, however he may be affected, will hardly be ſurprized, after having peruſed the horrid ſcenes of murder and bloodſhed, in which this mercileſs tyrant had already embrued his hands. Receiving a more circumſtantial account of the ravages committed by Llewellyn on the Engliſh borders, he ordered all the hoſtages, delivered to him at the concluſion of the laſt peace, conſiſting of ſome of the principal of the Welch nobility, to be put to death, to the number of thirty.

His cruel and barbarous heart being ſtill unſatisfied with this maſſacre, he reſolved to exterminate the whole race of the ancient Britons, and had actually formed a plan for this purpoſe, when he received letters from the king of Scotland, apprizing him of a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life; and this intelligence was confirmed by letters to the ſame effect, from his natural daughter, wife to Llewellyn.

Alarmed at theſe accounts, which, tho' coming from different quarters, agreed in the main, he ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Nottingham, and, for a whole fortnight, ſuffered no body to approach his perſon.

perſon. But his fears ſubſiding, as no diſcovery was made, he reſumed his cruel purpoſe, and advanced to Cheſter, where he received freſh letters, importing, that if he ſhould proceed farther, he would either be murdered by his own nobles, or betrayed to the enemy. Struck with this repeated intelligence, and hearing, at the ſame time, that his vaſſals and ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance, his heart began to miſgive him; he diſmiſſed his forces, and returned, in all the terrors of aſſaſſination, to London.

A good king is never apt to ſuſpect the loyalty of his ſubjects. Endeavouring, in all his actions, to merit their good will, he is confident he poſſeſſes it; and placing the chief ſecurity of his perſon and government in the affections of his people, he would hardly wiſh to reign longer than they deſire that he ſhould. A bad king, on the contrary, is always jealous and diſtruſtful: his guilty conſcience converts every ſhadow into a ſubſtance, and magnifies the moſt trifling inſtances of diſreſpect or inattention, into downright acts of treaſon and rebellion. John was abundantly ſenſible that his nobility had no reaſon to love him. He had diſgraced their families by his lewdneſs and debauchery; ruined their fortunes by exorbitant taxes, ſeized their eſtates,

eſtates, and inſulted their perſons. He had even ventured to make a general inquiſition into the alienations of the royal demeſnes, and the validity of the titles by which his barons held their poſſeſſions; an odious meaſure at all times; but particularly alarming in the reign of a tyrant, who ſacrificed every tie of law, honour, and conſcience, to the gratification of his own avarice and revenge.

By theſe and the like means he had incurred the hatred and deteſtation of all his nobility. Glad of an opportunity to ſhake off his yoke, they were overjoyed at the cenſures paſſed upon him by the pope, who, they made no doubt, would purſue his blow, and ſend an army to their relief, either by exciting the king of France to invade England, or raiſing a cruſade againſt John, as he had lately done againſt the Albigenſes.

Simon de Montfort, who commanded the forces againſt this people, had, by an uninterrupted courſe of victories, over the count of Thoulouſe, and the king of Arragon, gained a great reputation for his abilities in war, and acquired the character of being one of the moſt accompliſhed generals of the age. Had that hero completed the reduction of the Albigenſes, the pope would in all probability have ſent him,

him, with his victorious army, into England; but as the war in Languedoc was ſtill unfiniſhed, the Engliſh barons, not chuſing to defer the execution of their deſign, and conſidering the preſent opportunity as the moſt favourable for that purpoſe, entered into an aſſociation againſt John, and invited the king of France to come over and receive the crown of England, which they promiſed to aſſiſt him in wreſting from the uſurper.

Though John did not know the particular perſons concerned in this aſſociation, he was fully convinced that a conſpiracy was formed. He therefore exacted hoſtages from ſuch of the nobility as he ſuſpected, and by that means became maſter of their caſtles. Stephen Ridel, late keeper of the great ſeal, was baniſhed the realm; and Geoffry de Norwich, one of John's own chaplains, was committed to cloſe cuſtody, and died in priſon: Robert Fitz-walter, whoſe daughter Maude the king is ſaid to have poiſoned, becauſe ſhe refuſed to yield to his embraces, fled into France; and Euſtace de Veſci, one of the confederates, took refuge in Scotland.

John ſeized the lands of theſe noblemen, and ſent their knights, together with thoſe of the exiled prelates, into Poitou. By this ſtep he gained a double end: he at once

kept them from raiſing any diſturbances at home, and gave ſome aſſiſtance to his friends abroad. From ſuch of them as did not chuſe to go on this expedition, he extorted ten marks for every knight's fee, by way of compoſition: he diſmantled Caſtle-Baynard, in London; demoliſhed Fitz-walter's forts, and deſtroyed his woods in Eſſex. In a word, he became ſo jealous of the treaſonable deſigns of his ſubjects, that he never ſtirred abroad without a guard of foreign bowmen, hired for the defence of his perſon.

But a ſtate of fear is certainly a ſtate of miſery. He had not yet learned the art of thoſe foreign potentates, who think themſelves ſecure amidſt the protection of their guards, while almoſt every individual in their dominions is daily praying for their deſtruction. He therefore reſolved to regain the good will, or, at leaſt, to appeaſe the reſentment of his ſubjects by ſome popular regulations.

With this view he made a ſtrict ſcrutiny into the conduct of high-ſheriffs, who, to indemnify themſelves for the large ſums they paid for their poſts, were frequently found to defraud the crown, and oppreſs the ſubject. Some of them were impriſoned; ſome fined; and ſome fled, to avoid a proſecution. A like inquiſition was made into the

be-

behaviour of foresters, who were obliged to remit the fines they had imposed, and to promise, upon oath, that, for the future, they would exact no more than what had been usually paid in the reign of Henry II. An impost lately laid upon the sea-ports, under pretence of guarding the kingdom against an invasion, and which had been productive of great clamour, was likewise withdrawn; and the king, affecting an air of humanity and compassion, received the petitions of the widows and the poor, and fed them with the hopes of a speedy redress of all their grievances.

Conscious, however, that his greatest danger arose from his disputes with the Roman pontiff, he sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation, on the terms proposed by the nuncios; and as he was neither able nor willing to make restitution of all the ecclesiastical revenues he had seized, and suspected the pope would insist on this article, he compelled the Cistertians, the abbots, convents, and secular clergy, to give him acquittances of all the money he owed them.

At the same time, in case the negociation should not succeed, he took care to fortify himself with foreign alliances *. He

* A. D. 1213.

entered into a new treaty with his nephew Otho, the emperor, who, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy, promiſed to aſſiſt him with all the force of the empire. He likewiſe engaged, in his ſervice, Renaud de Dammartin, count of Boulogne and Mortaign; Theobald, count of Bar, with his ſon Henry; William, count of Holland; Henry, duke of Saxony; the duke of Limburgh; Henry, duke of Louvain; and Ferrand, count of Flanders, ſon of Sancho, king of Portugal; all of whom were gratified with conſiderable annuities and grants of lands in England, for which they did homage to John, and undertook to ſupply him with a certain number of forces.

John could not be too careful in taking precautions to defeat the deſigns of his enemies. Cardinal Langton, with the biſhops of London and Ely, weary of exile, and inſtigated by the king of France, repaired to the court of Rome, and earneſtly entreated the pope to proceed to the depoſition of John, whom they repreſented as a monſter of vice and wickedneſs.

Innocent, finding that the cenſures he had hitherto paſſed upon that incorrigible monarch, had produced little or no effect, reſolved to comply with their requeſt. For this purpoſe, having convoked a council of cardinals and prelates, he ſolemnly depoſed John,

John, and declared the throne of England vacant; after which he wrote to Philip, king of France, enjoining him to execute the ſentence, by expelling the uſurper, and appropriating the kingdom of England to himſelf and his heirs for ever. He likewiſe publiſhed a cruſade againſt John, all over Europe, exhorting the nobility, knights, and all men able to bear arms, to enliſt under the banners of Philip, and dethrone that perſecutor of the church, beſtowing upon them the ſame indulgences that were granted to thoſe who went on an expedition to Paleſtine; and appointing Pandulf his legate *a latere*, to ſee the ſentence carried into execution.

Notwithſtanding this terrible denunciation, the legate was furniſhed with powers to make peace with John, upon certain conditions; which, if he ſhould not accept within a limited time, Pandulf was to return immediately, and leave the infatuated monarch to ſuffer the effects of his own folly and madneſs. Mean while, Langton and his two ſuffragans, having carried their point at the court of Rome, haſtened back to France, in order to excite Philip to execute the pope's ſentence.

Few arguments were ſufficient for this purpoſe. Philip had already formed the deſign of invading England, and propoſed

the enterprize in a general council of his prelates and nobility, all of whom, except the count of Flanders, approved the ſcheme, and promiſed to attend him with all their followers.

Senſible, however, of the difficulty of ſuch an arduous undertaking, he reſolved to take every precaution that could enſure its ſucceſs. With this view, he contracted an alliance with Frederic, king of Sicily, in order to ſecure his dominions againſt any attempts of the emperor Otho, during his abſence in England: he effected a match between his couſin Peter de Dreux, and Alice, heireſs of Brittany, by which means he had the whole naval force of that province at his diſpoſal: he employed a whole year in building ſhips, and equipping an armament for the expedition. Euſtace, a pirate, who had been in the ſervice of John, deſerted to him with five gallies: he laid an embargo on all the ſhips that were in the ports of France: he aſſembled a fleet of ſeventeen hundred ſail at Boulogne, and appointed the rendezvous of his army at Roüen, where all his barons and vaſſals were ordered to attend him on the twenty-firſt of April, on pain of being treated as traitors, and forfeiting their eſtates.

John was not ignorant of theſe mighty preparations; and after having wreaked his ven-

vengeance on Langton and the biſhop of London, by cutting down the woods belonging to the ſee of Canterbury, and demoliſhing the caſtle of Storford, he began to take the neceſſary meaſures for the defence of the kingdom.

With this view he ordered all the ſhips of burthen in England to be brought, by their reſpective maſters, to Portſmouth, well manned, armed, and victualled, there to enter into his pay and ſervice, on the twenty-fourth of March. He likewiſe ſent orders to the ſheriffs of every county in the kingdom to ſummon all the earls, barons, knights, eſquires, and vaſſals, whether holding of the crown, or of any other ſuperiour, to attend him with horſe and armour before the twenty-firſt of April, on pain of being branded for cowards, and degraded to a ſervile condition.

The places of rendezvous were Dover, Feverſham and Ipſwich, and thither ſuch numbers repaired, that many were ſent home as unneceſſary, though theſe were moſtly of the common people. At the ſame time the biſhop of Norwich arrived from his government of Ireland, with five hundred knights, and the ſame number of light cavalry, and the whole force aſſembled on Barham-Down near Canterbury, amounted to ſixty thouſand men, well armed and appointed,

Such

Such a body of brave troops, had they been well-affected to John, would have been able to defend the kingdom againſt any potentate on earth; but jealous, as he was, of the loyalty of his ſubjects, which indeed he had never deſerved, and well knowing that if once the French got footing in the iſland, they would immediately be joined by many of the diſcontented barons, he placed his chief confidence in the fleet he had provided, which was ſuperior in ſtrength and number to that of the enemy.

Mean while, the legate Pandulf ſent two knights-templars to the king, aſſuring him of his hearty deſire to employ his good offices in his behalf, and propoſing a conference to adjuſt the terms of his reconciliation with the church. A perſon on the point of being drowned, will hardly refuſe a rope that is thrown for his relief. John embraced the propoſal with the utmoſt avidity, and met the legate at Dover.

Pandulf, who was a prelate of great ſagacity and penetration, ſoon diſcovered the panick in which the king was, and reſolved to turn it to his own advantage. He repreſented the ſtrength of the French armament, the influence of the exiled prelates and nobility, and the general ſpirit of diſaffection among the Engliſh, in ſuch a light,

light, that John was ſtruck with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. Conſcious of his own guilt, he believed the diſloyalty of his ſubjects to be as great as it really was, and diſtracted and diſordered in his imagination, he believed the power of his enemies to be much greater.

Into a mind thus affected, ſuperſtition finds an eaſy acceſs. One * Peter of Pontefract,

* From Rapin, b. viii. vol. 8. we are informed, that the king ſent for the hermit, who reſolutely maintained that this prediction was true, and was, on that account, ordered to priſon. According to M. Paris, his prediction was, "that John ſhould not be king the "next Aſcenſion-day, nor afterwards, but that the "crown of England ſhould on that day be transferred "to another." The character which this hermit had acquired from other predictions, gave credit to that which related to the king; who commanded him to be brought before him, and was very inquiſitive to know, "whether he was to die on that day, or to be "deprived of his throne by any other means." But all the king could get from him was, "that he might aſſure "himſelf that, on the day mentioned, he ſhould not be "king, and added, that if he were convicted of a "lie, he might then uſe him as he pleaſed;" the original, of which this is but an extract, runs thus; "Sub his quoque diebus, erat in provincia eboracenſi, "heremita quidam Petrus nomine, qui eo quod multis futura multa prædixerat, ſapiens dicebatur. Hic, "inter alia quæ ſpiritu prophetiæ tactus viderat de "rege Johanne; palam coram cunctis aſtantibus, illud prædicando publice aſſerebat: *Quod non foret* "*rex in die dominicæ Aſcenſionis proxime ſequentis, nec* "*deinceps: ſed die illa coronam Angliæ ad alium tranſ-*

"*ferri*

tefract, a hermit, had pretended to foretel that John would be depoſed before the end

" *ferri prædixit.* Cujus aſſertio cum ad regis no-
" titiam deveniſſet, et, ipſo jubente, ad ejus præ-
" ſentiam adductus fuiſſet, quæſivit ab eo rex; *ſi*
" *die illo eſſet moriturus, vel quo ordine a regni ſolio*
" *privaretur?* Qui reſpondit; *Noveritis certiſſime*
" *quod die prædicta rex non eris. Et ſi de mendacio*
" *convictus fuero, de me quod placuerit faciatis.* Cui
" rex, *fiat*, inquit, *ſecundum verbum tuum.* Tunc rex
" tradidit illum Willielmo de Harecurt, cuſtodiendum,
" quem idem Willielmus, cuſtodibus et arctioribus vin-
" culis conſtrictum, apud corricum incarceravit, donec
" probaret quem exitum res haberet." *Matt. Par.* p. 195.

Wikes treats this hermit as an impoſtor for pretending to the knowledge of future events, which our authour ſays belongs to *God* only; aſcribes his popularity to the ignorance of the vulgar; and repreſents him as foretelling expreſsly, that John ſhould die in the fourteenth year of his reign. His words are too remarkable to be omitted: " Eiſdem temporibus
" erat quidem laicus in Anglia, nomine Petrus
" de *Punfret* quem vulgo Petrum *ſapientem* angli-
" ce nuncupabant, cui laicorum ruſticaria ſimpli-
" citas, pro eo quod multa prædixerat, quæ poſtea
" rei exitus approbavit, prophetiæ ſpiritum aſſerebat
" ineſſe, tribuens ei præſcientiam futurorum, quæ ſe-
" cundum fidem catholicam ſoli deo creditur aſcri-
" benda; diu autem prædixerat poſt annum quartum
" decimum regni regis, regnandi poteſtatem regi fi-
" naliter eximendam, quod quidem contigit, ſed alio
" modo quam putabat. Alludebat etiam huic præſa-
" gio revelatio facta cuidam monacho viro ſancto
" tranſmarino in ſomnis: quod ultra annos xiv
" non regnaret. Et quidem anno regni ſui quarto
" decimo (ut prætactum eſt) ſe et regnum ſuum ſedi
" apoſtolicæ

end of the year; and this prophecy, whether the effect of knavery or enthuſiaſm, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of his majeſty.

In a word, John was ſo terrified by all theſe concurring circumſtances, that he was glad to accept of any terms the legate thought proper to propoſe. A peace was accordingly concluded, to the obſervance of

"apoſtolicæ ſubjugavit." Our authour, after expounding and confirming the truth of the hermit's prediction, by the king's ſubmiſſion to the apoſtolical ſee, proceeds to inform us, that John having enquired of Peter the day before he made his ſubmiſſion, how long he thought he ſhould reign, was anſwered, "till "three o'clock the next day at fartheſt:" and John was ſo highly exaſperated by his reply, that he ordered him to be cloſely confined in Corf-caſtle, with a firm reſolution of bringing him to puniſhment, and the next year he was torn in pieces by horſes, after having been hung upon a gallows. *Chronic. T. Wikes* ad an. 1213 and 1214.

This extraordinary prediction is authenticated by the manuſcript of Wendover; and Polydore Virgil imputes it to the diſcoveries of magic, "magicis ar-"tibus." But Speed judiciouſly ſuſpects the whole of impoſture, and imagines that the hermit was ſuborned, to leſſen the attachment of the people from their king. *Speed* b. ix. ch. 8. p. 558.

On July 10. great part of London was conſumed by fire; which began in Southwark, and having reduced St. Mary Overy to aſhes, burnt part of the bridge, and occaſioned the death of no leſs than three thouſand perſons who periſhed in the flames or were drowned in the Thames. *M. Par.* 233. *Ann. Waverl.* p. 173.

of which the king ſwore in preſence of the count of Boulogne, and the earls of Saliſbury, Warenne and Ferrers, who likelikewiſe promiſed, upon oath, to concur in the execution of the articles, which were as follow: John ſhall admit into his favour archbiſhop Langton, together with the biſhops of London, Ely, Hereford, Bath, and Lincoln, who ſhall reſume their functions, and exerciſe their authority without interruption: Robert Fitz-walter, Euſtace de Veſci, and all others, whether clergy or laity, concerned in the aſſociation, ſhall obtain a free pardon, and be reſtored to the enjoyment of their honours and eſtates: full reſtitution ſhall be made of all liberty and property, which hath been taken away in the courſe of this diſpute: eight thouſand marks ſhall be immediately remitted in part of reſtitution to the exiled biſhops, for the payment of their debts, and to defray the expences of their return; and their agents ſhall be put into immediate poſſeſſion of their effects and temporalities: John ſhall releaſe all homage exacted from their vaſſals, ſince the commencement of the interdict; reverſe all ſentences of outlawry pronounced againſt clergymen or laymen on account of this diſpute; and oblige himſelf to refrain from iſſuing ſuch ſentences againſt churchmen

for

for the future, and to ſubmit all diſputes about damages to the determination of the legate, or the deciſion of the pope.

In conſequence of this reconciliation with the pope, the king and kingdom were delivered from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures. But ſomething more was wanting to ſecure the nation againſt the intended invaſion, as the French monarch had collected his whole armament at the mouth of the Seine, and was ready to embark. The odium which John had incurred by the murder of his nephew, and by his other cruel and oppreſſive meaſures, was ſtill as great as ever; and the diſcontents of the nobility, who had invited Philip into England, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in aſcending the throne, ſtill ſubſiſted in their full vigour; and while things continued in this ſituation, John could never think himſelf in ſafety.

In theſe alarming circumſtances, he had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient, which, though it procured him a temporary reſpite, was certainly the occaſion of many of the calamities in which he was afterwards involved, as it leſſened his character in the opinion of every ſenſible man, and rendered his perſon truly contemptible.

This was no other than to put his kingdom under the protection of the see of Rome, by which means it would be screened from all the attempts of Christian invaders; at least, if any Christian power should dare to attack him, the public hatred, he thought, would be transferred * from him to his enemies; and he imagined

* According to Rapin he was terrified into this step by the artifices of Pandulph, the pope's legate, who exaggerated the preparations of the French king in such a manner, as necessitated John to make his peace with the pope. And however servile the conditions, which John acceded to, might appear in the sequel, yet they were far from being such at their first proposal. The only thing which the legate required of him at first, was to oblige himself by oath to obey his holiness in every particular, for which he had incurred his anger and exposed himself to excommunication: The resignation of his crown to the pope was not so much as mentioned at first by Pandulph, or dreamt of by the king. And it was not till after the legate had explained his oath of conformity, to include in it this abject promise, that either the king or the nation could possibly conjecture that it was comprehended in it, or meant by Pandulph himself. When this was at first proposed, the king could not but be surprized, but he had gone so far that he could not recede, and his circumstances were such that he could not exasperate his holiness, without falling a prey to the ambition of Philip. The account given us by Matthew Paris, corroborates the representation of Rapin very strongly, who tells us, at the same time, that the king was very unwilling to take the oath to the legate, though he had given him the most terrible

gined that the thunder of the vatican might ſtrike as much terrour into the

terrible deſcriptions of the armament preparing by Philip to ſubdue his kingdom, and diſpoſſeſs him of his throne. That the artifice of Pandulph may appear more glaring to the learned reader, we ſhall give him Paris's repreſentation of this particular in his own words; after premiſing that he was induced to treat with Pandulph, at the inſtances of two knights templars, a circumſtance omitted by the Annals of Margan, Waverly, and the Chronicle of Hemingford. "Dum rex Anglorum, ſays our author, cum innumera armatorum copia circa maritima regis Francorum præſtolaretur adventum; applicuerunt duo fratres de militia templi apud Doveram, et venientes amicabiliter ad regem dixerunt ei: Miſſi ſumus ad te, O rex, potentiſſime, ex parte Pandulphi ſubdiaconi, ac domini papæ familiaris; qui pro utilitate veſtra et regni veſtri, vobiſcum petit habere colloquium: proponit enim quandam tibi pacis formam, qua poteris deo et eccleſiæ reconciliari: licet in curia Romana a jure regni Angliæ abjudicatus fueris, et ſententialiter condemnatus." Rex vero, cum templariorum verba intellexiſſet, miſit templarios memoratos propter Pandulphum quantocius transfretare. Venit ergo Pandulphus, ut dictum eſt, invitatus ad regem; ut apud Doveram cum ipſo loquutus eſt dicens: Ecce rex Francorum potentiſſimus, in oſtio ſequanæ fluminis cum innumera navium multitudine, et maximo militum, equitum, peditumque ſtipatus agmine ad hoc expectat; ut majoribus adhuc vallatus catervis, ſuper vos et regnum veſtrum hoſtiliter veniat, et quaſi domino et ſummo pontifici rebellem, a regno te violenter depellat, atque authoritate ſedis apoſtolicæ, regnum Angliæ perpetuo jure poſſideat. Veniunt et cum illo omnes epiſcopi dudum ab Anglia proſcripti,

king of France as it had formerly done into himſelf.

Thus

" cum clericis et laicis exulantibus: ut, ipſo duce,
" ſedes epiſcopales cum rebus aliis, te invito, recipi-
" ant, et obſequium vobis olim et anteceſſoribus veſtris
" exhibitum, ipſi de cætero reverenter impendant.
" Jactat ſe præterea idem rex, chartas habere omni-
" um fere Angliæ magnatum de fidelitate et ſubjectione;
" unde plenam concipit ſecuritatem ad finem optimum
" rem perducere inchoatam. Conſule ergo ſaltem
" nunc quaſi in extremis agenti, utilitatæ tuæ, ut ad
" penitentiam redeas et dominum, quem contra te
" ad vindictam provocaſti graviſſimam, placare ne
" differas. Si enim ſufficientem volueris præſtare
" cautionem, judicio eccleſiæ parendi, et humiliari
" pro ipſo, qui ſe pro te humiliavit, poteris, ex cle-
" mentia ſedis apoſtolicæ regnum recuperare, a quo,
" pro contumacia Romæ, abjudicatus fuiſti. Nunc
" autem ne ſupergaudeant, de te, inimici tui, re-
" vertere ad cor tuum: cavens ne te in talem diffi-
" cultatem inducas de qua te, volens, expedire non
" valeas.—Rex denique Johannis, his auditis, ac me-
" dullitus intellectis confuſus eſt valdè, et mente ni-
" mis perturbatus, videns undique ſibi periculum
" imminere. Erant enim quatuor cauſæ principa-
" les, quæ ipſum ad pœnitentiam ſimul et ſatisfac-
" tionem compulerunt. Prima, quod jam per quin-
" quennium excommunicatus permanſerat, DEUM-
" QUE et ſanctam eccleſiam in tantum offenderat,
" quod de ſalute animæ penitus deſperabat. Secun-
" da, quod regis Francorum adventum metuebat,
" qui circa maris littora cum innumera arma-
" torum copia expectans, inſidias ſuæ dejectionis
" parabat. Tertia, quod ſi forte cum hoſtibus ſu-
" pervenientibus belli certamen iniret; verebatur ne à
" magnatibus Angliæ et propria gente ſolus in cam-

" pos

Thus reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of reigning as a vaſſal of the pope, or of not reigning at all, and being further treated as a murderer, tyrant, and uſurper, he reſolved to do homage to Innocent; and the ceremony was performed on the fifteenth of May in the houſe of the templars at Dover. He reſigned his crown to the pope's legate, and received it again as a preſent from the ſee of Rome, to which he took an oath of fealty and ſubmiſſion. * By

" pos relinqueretur, aut inimicis ad perdendum tra-
" deretur. Quartam vero cauſam, aliis plus omni-
" bus, timebat: inſtabat enim dies dominicæ aſcen-
" ſionis, in qua, juxta prophetiam P. Heremitæ, de
" quô ſuperius relatum eſt, cum ipſa vita regnum
" tam temporale, quam æternum, amittere timebat.
" His autem et conſimilibus in deſperationem pro-
" lapſus, perſuaſionibus Pandulphi acquievit, et ſub-
" ſcriptam pacis formam, non ſine dolore, conceſſit.
" Juravit ergo rex, tactis ſacro-ſanctis evangeliis, in
" præſentia Pandulphi, *ſe judicio eccleſiæ pariturum*,
" et ſexdecim, cum eo, comites et barones ex poten-
" tioribus regni in animam ipſius regis: quod ſi forte
" facti pæniteret, ipſi eum pro poſſibilitate ad ſatis-
" factionem compellerent." *Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Maj.* p. 197. *Edit. Will. Watts.*

* The charter expreſly ſays that the king made the reſignation of the kingdom of England, and his lordſhip of Ireland without fear or conſtraint, and by the advice and conſent of all the barons of the realm, as the only reſource to attone for his crimes againſt GOD and the church. In the concluſion of this famous charter, John, very *modeſtly*, declares that if he himſelf

this deed he obliged himſelf and his heirs to acknowledge the pope's ſuperiority over all

himſelf, or any of his ſucceſſours, ſhould deny the ſubmiſſion due to the holy ſee, he ſhould forfeit his right to the crown. As this charter is too prolix to be tranſlated verbatim, the authour, fearing his ſilence might rob the learned reader of the ſatisfaction of knowing its contents, has tranſcribed it to ſave him the trouble of turning to the hiſtorian, who has preſerved it. "Johannes, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ "et cetera, omnibus fidelibus hanc chartam inſpec- "turis, ſalutem in domino. Univerſitati veſtræ per "hanc chartam ſigillo noſtro munitam, volumus eſſe "notum, quod cum DEUM et matrem noſtram ſanc- "tam eccleſiam offenderimus in multis, et proinde "divina miſericordia plurimum indigeamus, nec quid "digne offere poſſimus, pro ſatisfactione DEO et ec- "cleſiæ debita facienda, niſi nos-metipſos humilie- "mus et regna noſtra volentes nos ipſos humiliare, "pro illo qui ſe pro nobis humiliavit uſque ad mor- "tem, gratia ſancti ſpiritus inſpirante, non vi inter- "dicti, nec timore coacti, ſed noſtra bona ſponte quea- "que voluntate, ac communi conſilio baronum noſ- "trorum conferimus, et liberi concedimus Deo et "ſanctis apoſtolis ejus Petro et Paulo et ſanctæ Ro- "manæ eccleſiæ matronæ noſtræ; et domino papæ "Innocentio, ejuſque catholicis ſucceſſoribus, totum "regnum Angliæ, et totum regnum Hyberniæ, cum "omni jure et pertinentiis ſuis, pro remiſſione om- "nium peccatorum noſtrorum et totius generis noſ- "tri, tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis, et amodo "illa ab eo et eccleſia Romana, tanquam ſecunda- "rius recipientes et tenentes, in præſentia prudentis "viri Pandulphi domini papæ ſubdiaconi et familia- "ris. Exinde prædicto domino papæ Innocentio "ejuſque catholicis ſucceſſoribus et eccleſiæ Roma-

"næ,

all his dominions; and in lieu of ſervice, to pay an annual tribute of ſeven hundred marks

" næ, ſecundum ſubſcriptam formam fecimus et ju-
" ravimus et homagium ligium in præſentia Pandul-
" phi, ſi coram domino papæ eſſe poterimus, eidem
" faciemus; ſucceſſores noſtras et hæredes de uxore
" noſtra in perpetuum obligantes, ut ſimili modo
" ſummo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, et eccle-
" ſiæ Romanæ, ſine contradictione, debeant fidelita-
" tem præſtare, et homagium recognoſcere. Ad ju-
" dicium autem hujus noſtræ perpetuæ obligationis
" et conceſſionis volumus et ſtabilimus, ut de propriis
" et ſpecialibus redditibus noſtris prædictorum regno-
" rum, pro omni ſervitio et conſuetudine, quæ pro
" ipſis facere debemus, ſalvis per omnia denariis beati
" Petri, eccleſia Romana mille marcas eſterlingorum
" percipiat annuatim; in feſto ſcilicet ſancti Mi-
" chaelis quingentas marcas, et in Paſcha quingentas.
" Septingentas ſcilicet pro regno Angliæ et tercentas
" pro regno Hiberniæ; ſalvis nobis et hæredibus
" noſtris juſtitiis, libertatibus, et regalibus noſtris.
" Quæ omnia, ſicut ſupra ſcripta ſunt, rata eſſe vo-
" lentes atque firma obligamus nos et ſucceſſores
" noſtras contra non venire; et ſi nos vel aliquis
" ſucceſſorum noſtrorum contra hæc attentare præ-
" ſumpſerit, quicunque ille fuerit, niſi rite commo-
" nitus reſipuerit, *cadat a jure regni*. Et hæc charta
" obligationis et conceſſionis noſtræ ſemper firma
" permaneat. Teſte meipſo apud domum militum
" templi juxta Doveram coram H. Dublinenſi archie-
" piſcopo. Johanni Norvicenſis epiſcopo, Galfrido
" filio Petri W. comite Sarisberiæ, Willielmo comi-
" te Penbroc. R. comite Bononiæ. W. comite
" Warrene, S. comite Winton, W. comite Arundel,
" W. comite de Ferrariis, W. Briwere, Petro filio
" Hereberti, Warino filio Geraldi, xv die Maii, anno
" regni

marks for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland, reſerving, however, to himſelf and ſucceſſours the power of adminiſtering juſtice, creating juſticiaries, and all his other rights and regalities.

This ceremony, which, in itſelf, was diſgraceful to the laſt degree, was rendered ſtill more mortifying by the haughty carriage of the legate. Being preſented with a * ſum of money as the pope's repreſentative, he trampled it under his feet as a mark of the king's dependance. Not ſatisfied

" regni noſtri decimo quarto." *Matth. Paris*, p. 199.

If this charter occaſions our ſurprize, the manner in which the king expreſſed himſelf, when he did homage to the legate is not leſs aſtoniſhing; but as we have already been too prolix with reſpect to this article the reader muſt be ſatisfied with being referred, to the page laſt quoted in Matth. Paris, for his information.

* This act of inſolence raiſed great indignation in the ſpectators. Rapin aſſerts that the archbiſhop of Dublin was ſo much incenſed at the ſervile ſubmiſſions of John, that he could not forbear taking notice of them in a remonſtrance he made on this occaſion, but M. Paris, whom he chiefly follows, records no ſuch circumſtance, but mentions only that the prelate was offended at the haughty carriage of the legate, for trampling upon the money, and made his remonſtrances on that account. Paris's words are theſe: " Pandulphus autem pecuniam, quam in ar-
" rham ſubjectionis rex contulerat, ſub pede ſuo con-
" culcavit; archiepiſcopo dolente et reclamante." *Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Maj.* p. 199.

tisfied with having received the crown and ſceptre from the king, he kept them * five whole days, in order to convince the people, that it was not merely a piece of form, but an actual reſignation, and then reſtored them as the ſpecial favour of the holy ſee. All the ſpectators were enraged at the mean, abject, and perfidious behaviour of the king. Mean-ſpirited and abject he certainly was, otherwiſe he would never have given up the independency of his crown to any potentate on earth. Baſe and perfidious he muſt ſurely be accounted, inaſmuch as he had reſigned a crown to which he had no title, and even ſuppoſing he had been the lawful ſovereign, yet he had no right to ſubject the Engliſh nation to the dominion of any foreign prince, without their own conſent and concurrence.

But theſe conſiderations never entered into the head of this worthleſs and contemptible wretch. Far from bluſhing at the diſgraceful ſtep he had taken, he ſeemed to glory in his ſhame, and triumphed in the thought of having preſerved his crown in ſpite of the prediction of the hermit, whom, notwithſtanding his pro-

* This circumſtance, though mentioned by Rapin, Smollet, and other hiſtorians, is not recorded by Paris, the annals of Margan and Waverly, T. Hemingford, Speed or Brady.

prophecy was * literally fulfilled, he cauſed to be hanged as an impoſtor. At the ſame time

* Rapin aſſerts that he was hanged for a falſe prophet; Paris ſays that he was faſtened to horſes tails, and dragged in that manner, through the ſtreets from Corf caſtle, and there was hanged on a gibbet, together with his ſon, Paris's words are, "Petrum præfatum, qui in caſtello de Corf in vinculis tenebatur, juſſit rex caudis equorum alligatum ad villam de Warham per plateas trahi; et ibidem cum filio ejuſdem Petri patibulo ſuſpendi. Unde multis videbatur indignum, quod tam crudeli morte, pro aſſertione veritatis puniretur. Si enim ea quæ ſuperius geſta leguntur, ſubtiliter perpendantur, comprobabitur, ipſum mendacium non dixiſſe." *Paris*, p. 199. Wikes's Chronicle repreſents the ſufferings of Peter in ſuch vague terms that one might ſuſpect that he was torn in pieces by horſes, did he not mention his being hanged on a gibbet afterwards: But read his own words; "Petrus de Punfret—de præcepto regis per villam de Corf *diſtractus eſt* ab equis, poſtea in patibulo ſuſpenſus eſt," *Chron. T. Wikes, ad ann.* 1714. The writer of the annals of Waverly, gives us a different account of the hermit's prediction, aſſerting that *that the king ſhould loſe his crown unleſs he made ſatisfaction to the Engliſh church before Aſcenſion-day*, and that after he and his ſon had been dragged from the caſtle of Corf and back again to Warham, they were both hanged. The original is as follows; "Petrus quidem de Wakefield juxta Pontem-fractam, habens ſpiritum prophetiæ, in præſentia regis Johannis ac totius curiæ prædicabat, *quod ni rex ante Aſcenſionem dominicam* Anglicanæ eccleſiæ quam ancillaverat, ſatisfaceret, ulterius rex non exiſteret. His dictis rex ira ſuccenſus, eum cuſtodiri juſſit, completiſque omnibus, ſicut

time he granted a new charter to the clergy, * exempting them for the future from all ſentences of outlawry. He likewiſe wrote to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the biſhops of London, Ely, Bath, Hereford, and Lincoln, inviting them to return to England, and aſſuring them of his favour and protection.

† Pandulf being furniſhed with theſe letters, with the deed of reſignation, which was

" ſicut prædixerat; nam ipſe rex jam tributarius factus " fuit, eum poſtea et filium ejus e caſtello de Corf " uſque ad Warham equis *tractos* et *retractos* ſuſpendi " fecit." *Annal. Waverl. ad ann.* 1213. p. 179. *Gale's Edition.*

* The article of this treaty goes ſomewhat farther, and expreſsly mentions that John agreed to recall the outlawry of eccleſiaſtics, as a thing not within his juriſdiction, and to promiſe not to outlaw them for the future; beſides which he ſubmitted to take off the outlawry of laymen, as far as related to this matter. The words of the treaty in M. Paris are theſe: " Interdictum verò, utlegatio vul- " gariter nuncupatum, quod proponi fecimus, contra " eccleſiaſticas perſonas, publice revocabimus, pro- " teſtando per noſtras patentes litteras archiepiſcopo " tribuendas, *id ad nos nullatenus pertinere:* quodque " illud de cætero contra eccleſiaſticas perſonas, nul- " latenus faciemus proponi; revocantes præterea ut- " lagationem laicorum ad hoc negotium pertinentium, " et remittentes omnia quæ poſt interdictum recepi- " mus ab hominibus eccleſiaſticis, præter regni con- " ſuetudinem." *Matt. Paris*, 198.

† According to Paris, Pandulph had been gone ſome time before theſe letters were written; and John was

was confirmed by the oaths of twelve principal barons and three prelates, and with the ſum of eight thouſand pounds for the exiled biſhops, he ſet out for Rome without removing the interdict from the kingdom, or abſolving John from his ſentence of excommunication. He eaſily * prevailed upon

was compelled to write them, becauſe the barons refuſed to join him in the war againſt Philip, unleſs his ſentence of excommunication was taken off. "Magnates enim Angliæ, ſays our authour, ipſum "ſequi noluerunt, niſi prius a ſententia excommuni- "cationis abſolveretur. Hac ergo diſtrictione rex "compulſus, miſit chartas viginti quatuor comitum "et baronum ad archiepiſcopum et epiſcopos præ- "ſcriptos, ad majorem ſecuritatem; ut omni metu "depoſito, venirent in Angliam, omnia ſua et obla- "torum damna, ſecundum præſcriptæ pacis formam, "ilico percepturi." *Matt. Paris*, p. 200.

* The legate ſeems to have uſed ſome importunity before he could prevail on the prelates to conſent to return, as appears from Paris's own words: "*Per-* "*ſuaſit diligenter* Pandulphus, ut pacifice redirent in "Angliam." But he found greater difficulties in his application to Philip, who was not only deaf to his remonſtrances, but highly incenſed at the propoſal. Scorning to be made the tool of the pope, and to find his prey ſnatched out of his hands, he would have proſecuted his deſign, had not the behaviour of the count of Flanders, who refuſed to join him in his expedition, excited his anger ſo highly that he poſtponed it, till he had chaſtiſed him for his inſolence. "Hæc "audiens rex Francorum, iratus valde dixit, ſe jam in "apparatu navium, victualium et armorum plus quam "ſexaginta millia librarum expendiſſe et ex præcepto "domini

on the Engliſh prelates, who were equally pleaſed with the money and the other terms of agreement, to return to their own country; but he found greater difficulty in perſuading Philip to deſiſt from his intended invaſion.

That prince had undertaken the expedition at the repeated inſtances of the pope, and had expended no leſs than ſixty thouſand pounds on his naval armament alone. He could not therefore fail to be greatly chagrined at the late tranſaction between John and the legate. He now ſaw, that he could not make a deſcent upon England, without invading the patrimony of St. Peter, in conſequence of which he would be expoſed to all the artillery of the church of Rome, and perhaps be involved in the ſame calamities from which his enemy had been ſo lately delivered.

But after the pains he had taken, and the money he had ſpent in making preparations for the invaſion; after having been encouraged, and even importuned by Innocent, to undertake the enterprize; and invited by the nobility of England to come

" domini papæ laborem præfatum et in peccatorum " remiſſionem ſuſcepiſſe. Et ut verum fateamur, idem " rex ſuggeſtionibus Pandulphi aſſenſum nullatenus " præbuiſſet, niſi ſolus comes Flandrenſis Philippus " ipſum ſequi contradixiſſet." *Matth. Paris*, p. 200.

and aſcend the throne of that kingdom, he determined to proſecute the war in ſpite of the pope and all his cenſures. Senſible, however, that the attempt would be attended with great difficulty; that Innocent would employ every art to embroil his affairs during his abſence; * and that Ferrand,

* This account is agreeable to the French writers; but Paris gives a different one. This author informs us that the count of Flanders, whom he names Philip, was in alliance with John at that time, in conſequence of which he not only refuſed to join the French, but boldly told their monarch that his expedition againſt England was inconſiſtent with juſtice, as none of his anceſtors had formed any claim to that kingdom. He added, that the French king had unjuſtly ſeized upon his fortreſſes and dominions, and on that account he would not accompany him in his expedition. This remonſtrance incenſed the French monarch to ſuch a degree, that he immediately forbid the count his court; ſwearing, at the ſame time, by all the ſaints, "*That* "*France ſhould be a province of Flanders, or Flanders a* "*province of France.*" And the count had no ſooner retired into his dominions, than the French king waſted them with fire and ſword. That we may not be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting the conduct of Philip, it will not be improper to authenticate, what we have recorded, by the author's own words. "Fuerat enim "regi Anglorum confœderatus, et ideo contra pactum "ſuum venire noluit. Dixit præterea idem comes in- "juſtum fuiſſe idem bellum, quod ad debellandum re- "gem Anglorum ſuſceperat, cum nullus anteceſſorum "ſuorum, jus aliquod ſibi hactenus, in regno Angliæ "vendicaſſet. Adjunxit inſuper, quod rex Francorum "terras ſuas et caſtella injuſte occupaverat et occupa- "tam

rand, count of Flanders, would embrace this opportunity to invade his dominions,

" tam hæreditatem ſuam contra juſtitiam detinebat, " quare cum ipſo ad Angliam venire nolebat.—Cum- " que rex Francorum a comite Flandrenſi talia audiſ- " ſet, ira vehementi incanduit; ipſumque diffidens a " curia ſua confeſtim recedere præcepit. Juravitque " dicens *per ſanctos Franciæ, vel Francia erit Flandria,* " *vel Flandria Francia.* Quo recedente rex Franco- " rum terram comitis ingreſſum igne ac ferro quæque " ſibi obvia depopulando conſumpſit." *Matth. Paris,* p. 200. Such is Paris's account, notwithſtanding which Tyrrel adopts that of the French hiſtorians, as moſt probable; who relate, that the expedition againſt Flanders, was undertaken by the French king, while Pandulph was in England. *Tyrrel,* vol. ii. p. 758. Rapin has followed Paris's account, which he endeavours to ſtrengthen by proving it to be both politic and expedient. The French hiſtorians, Serres and Æmilius, introduce the French king as convening his nobles to conſult them on this occaſion, and repreſent them as unanimous for the invaſion of England, excepting the count of Flanders. See *Joan de Serr. in Phil. Aug. Ypodig. Neuſtr. Paul Æmil.* in Philippo ii.

Holingſhed aſſerts, that all the French nobility countenanced the deſign of the invaſion, excepting the earl of Flanders; who, our authour ſays, had entered into a ſecret treaty with John and the earl of Boulogne, with a view of recovering Artois and St. Omer, which the French king had ſeized on. The French king not being as yet certain, ordered his navy towards the coaſt of Flanders, marching himſelf at the ſame time by land; and, on his arrival at Gravelines, was perfectly aſſured of the treaty ſubſiſting between the count and the king of England. *Holingſhed,* vol. ii. p. 178.

he reſolved to defer the expedition, until he ſhould have reduced this nobleman to ſuch a low condition, as would render him for ever incapable of creating him any diſturbances.

With this view he entered the county of Flanders, while his fleet coaſted along, and ſupplied him with proviſions as he advanced. Having reduced Caſſel, Ypres, and ſome other places, he, at laſt, ſat down before Bruges, his navy lying at anchor at Damme, about two leagues from the place. Ferrand, unable to cope with the French monarch, applied to England for ſuccours; and John ſent a fleet of five hundred large ſhips well manned and victualled, * with eight hundred ſmaller veſſels, ſeven hundred knights, and a ſtrong body of forces to his aſſiſtance.

This armament was commanded by William Longue-Epée, earl of Saliſbury, and Renaud, count of Boulogne. After having

* M. Paris, whom we have followed in this narrative, has afforded this particular; his words are, "Cum navibus quingentis et militibus ſeptingentis et "familia multa nimis tam equeſtris quam pedeſtris "ordinis." *M. Paris*, p. 200.

Holingſhed differs ſomewhat from Paris, as appears from his own words: "That ſame navie, which, as "before recited, he had put in a readineſſe, conteining the number of *five hundred* ſaile, he ſent ſtreight "into Flanders, with a ſtrong armie, both of horſe-"men and footmen." *Holingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 179.

ing looked into the mouth of the Seine, and viſited the roads of Féſcamp and Dieppe, where they either took or deſtroyed all the ſhips that lay in theſe harbours, they at laſt approached the French fleet at Damme. At firſt view it appeared ſo ſtrong and numerous, that they had little hopes of attacking it with * any probability of ſucceſs; but receiving advice, that almoſt all the French forces were on ſhore, engaged in the ſiege of Ghent, which Philip had undertaken after the reduction of Bruges, they attacked the fleet with great courage and reſolution; † took

* M. Paris, p. 200. According to Holingſhed, "The number of the ſhips of the French fleet was ſo "great, that the haven could not receive them all, "ſo that manie of them laie at anchor without the "haven mouth, and all alongſt the coaſt." *Holingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 179. Our authour proceeds to inform us, that "The Engliſh eſpials, making ſemblance, as though they had beene ſome fiſhermen of "thoſe parts, came very neere the French ſhips lying "at anchor, and perceiving them to be unfurniſhed of "people neceſſarie to defend them, came backe to "their companie, and declared what they had ſeene, "certifieing their capteins, that the victorie was in "their hands, if they would make ſpeed." *Ibid.*

† Rapin ſays that the Engliſh "took three hundred "ſhips, and ſunk one hundred; and that the French "themſelves ſet fire to the reſt, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands." *Rapin*, vol. i. book viii. p. 273. fol. But Paris's repreſentation of this action,

above three hundred veſſels laden with proviſions, arms, and ammunition; and burned an hundred that ran aſhore, while the reſt, being farther out at ſea, ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight.

* Elated with this ſucceſs, the Engliſh landed in order to beſiege Damme, and deſtroy the ſhips that were in the harbour;

action, is in theſe words. "Principes militiæ regis "Anglorum—ad arma proſiliunt, claſſem acriter in- "vadunt: et in brevi nautis ſubjugatis funibus na- "vium præſciſſis, trecentas ex eis frumento, vino, fa- "rina, carne, armis, ac rebus aliis onuſtas, verſus "Angliam neptuno committunt. Naves præterea "centum vel eo amplius, quæ in ſicco ſtabant, in- "jecto igne, combuſſerunt, et earum ſpolia rapue- "runt." *M. Paris. Hiſt. Anglic*, p. 200.

* Paris judiciouſly obſerves, that the Engliſh commanders were carried away by a ſuperfluity of courage on this occaſion. "Comites *animoſitate* quaſi *ſuperflua* "incitati, cum equis et navibus erumpentes, Francos, "qui ab hac aufugerant clade, viriliter inſequuntur, "&c." *M. Paris. Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 200. See *Trivet. Annal.* vol. i. p. 175. *Mezeray.* vol. ii. p. 623. Yet it muſt be obſerved, that Holingſhed has placed this tranſaction in a different light, and commended it as a prudent ſtep; his words are, "After this comming on "land with their power, they marched forth into "the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that "if they ſhould encounter with king Philip by the "way comming to the reſcue of his ſhips, they might "be readie to give him battle: which thing was not "deviſed without good and great conſideration." *Holingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 179.

bour; but they were ſo * vigorouſly attacked by a ſmall body of French troops, which Philip had detached to the place at the firſt news of their appearance on the coaſt, that they were obliged to reimbark with conſiderable loſs; Renaud himſelf being taken in the ſkirmiſh, but falling into the hands of ſome of his friends, he was ſuffered to make his eſcape.

This advantage, however, was but a poor conſolation to the king of France for the irreparable loſs he had ſuſtained in the deſtruction of his navy. He ſaw his deſign upon England entirely defeated; and deſpairing of being able to refit his fleet, he ordered the few ſhips that remained in the port of Damme to be unloaded and ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the Engliſh: he

* The account, which Holingſhed aſcribes to James Muir, aſſerts that the Engliſh were chaſed to their ſhips, with the loſs of two thouſand men, beſides priſoners, amongſt which were twenty-two knights. At the ſame time our authour preſents us with a different narrative, which he aſſerts to be the truth of this hiſtory. His account is, that Philip underſtanding the danger his fleet was in, raiſed the ſiege, and marched with all his forces to reſcue the place; but being informed that it had already fallen a prey to the Engliſh, who were on their march to give him battle; and that the earl of Flanders intended to fall on his rear; he halted for one day, and afterwards marched back again without meeting with any moleſtation. *Holingſhed, ibid.*

he exacted hostages from Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges for the payment of certain sums of money which were afterwards remitted, and then marched back with shame and confusion to his own country.

Ferrand, who had retired to Holland, was no sooner informed of the retreat of the enemy, than he returned with a body of forces, and, assisted by the English from on board the fleet, recovered all the places which had been taken.

It will easily be believed that John was overjoyed when he heard of the destruction of the French fleet, which prevented the designed invasion at least for one year. In consequence of this intelligence, he dismissed the forces he had assembled for the protection of the coast; and sent a large sum of money to Flanders, as well for the payment of his own forces, as to enable Ferrand to invade the dominions of Philip, in conjunction with a strong body of troops, which the emperour Otho promised to furnish for that purpose.

At the same time, he proposed to go over to Poitou in person, and attack France on that quarter. With this view he summoned all his barons, knights, and vassals to attend him at Portsmouth; but he now found what a wretched condition he would have been in, had Philip landed in England;

England; for not a ſingle ſubject would obey his ſummons, until he ſhould be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication.

Vexed at this refuſal, he * wrote to Langton, and the exiled prelates, to come over without delay; and ſent the biſhops of Dublin and Norwich, William earl of Arundel, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, and William archdeacon of Huntington, to conduct

* The reader will perhaps think it a high degree of pleaſure, to have a ſight of ſo curious a letter, which we have tranſcribed for his ſatisfaction from the cloſe rolls in the Tower, marked thus: Rot. Claus. 15 Johan. parte prima. M. 8. "Venerabilibus in Chriſto "patribus Stephano Dei gratia Cantuarienſi archie- "piſcopo, totius Angliæ primati et ſanctæ Romanæ "eccleſiæ cardinali et omnibus ſuffraganeis ſuis epiſ- "copis cum eo exiſtentibus Joannes eadem gratia rex "Angliæ—Mandamus vobis quod bene veneritis in "Angliam, ſcientes quod jam diu vos expectavimus et "adventum veſtrum deſideravimus, unde in occurſum "veſtrum mittimus fideles noſtros Dominum H. Dub- "linenſem archiepiſcopum, Joannem Norvicenſem "epiſcopum, Willielmum comitem Arundel, Ma- "theum filium Herberti, Willielmum archidiaconum "Huntingdoniæ, rogantes quatenus ad nos feſtinetis, "ſicut prædicti fideles noſtri vobis dicent. Teſte me- "ipſo apud Stokes epiſcopi primo die Julii." This letter implies no more than that the archbiſhop, and his ſuffragans, might return with ſafety; that the king had appointed ſeveral noblemen to meet them; that he longed for their coming; and begged them to make uſe of the greateſt expedition poſſible.

duct them into the kingdom, together with letters from twenty-four noblemen, who engaged to procure them an indemnification of their paſt loſſes, and protect them from all future injuries.

Influenced by theſe aſſurances, they landed at Dover on the ſixteenth of July; and repairing immediately to Wincheſter, were met on their way by the king, * who accompanied them to the cathedral, and from thence to the chapter-houſe of the convent.

Here the archbiſhop obliged him to renew his oath of fealty to pope Innocent; and to ſwear that he would love, defend, and maintain, the church and clergy, againſt all their adverſaries, to the utmoſt of his

* As ſoon as he came near to the archbiſhop and the prelates, he proſtrated himſelf at their feet, all bathed in tears, and beſeeching them to have compaſſion upon himſelf and his government. The primate and the biſhops, ſtruck with the king's humiliation, raiſed him from the ground with tears in their eyes, and ſupporting him on each ſide, led him to the door of the church, where, after ſinging the fiftieth pſalm, they abſolved him in the ſight of all the nobility, who were ſo elated with joy that they could not help ſhedding tears on the occaſion. *M. Paris. Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 201. The manuſcript book of St. Albans, informs us that the earth was ſo ſenſible of the arrival of the archbiſhop, that it piouſly quaked as ſoon as he came on ſhore.

his power; that he would revive the good laws of his anceſtors, particularly thoſe of king Edward; that he would diſpenſe juſtice with an impartial hand, and be directed in all his deciſions by the judgment of his court; and that he would make full reſtitution, before Eaſter, to all concerned in the interdict, on pain of relapſing into the ſentence of excommunication.

This oath being taken, John was led to the church door, where he was publickly abſolved; and then re-conducted into the body of the church, to hear maſs.* Next day he iſſued out precepts, ordering four reſponſible men, with the reeve, to come from every town in his demeſnes, to St. Albans, on the fourth of Auguſt, to give an account of all the loſſes and damages which the exiled prelates had ſuſtained.

Every thing being ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all concerned, John reſumed his French expedition, and immediately ſet out for Portſmouth, in order to embark; but as the barons were only obliged to ſerve for forty

* After which the king dined in public, in company with the archbiſhop and the other exiled prelates; and at the entertainment, all parties were full of joy and feſtivity. "Miſſa peracta ad menſam cum rege "reſidentes, archiepiſcopus cum epiſcopis et magna-"tibus univerſis epulabantur in lætitia et jocunditate." *Matt. Paris. Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 201.

forty days at a time, and had already attended near that period, they gave him to understand that their money was almoſt exhauſted, and they could not proceed without a ſupply from his exchequer. This demand John conſidered as altogether unreaſonable, and accordingly refuſed the propoſal. Imagining, however, that his vaſſals would be induced either by a ſenſe of duty, or a fear of puniſhment, to follow him of their own accord, he embarked with his own houſhold, and ſet ſail for the iſland of Jerſey. But in this expectation he was greatly diſappointed: the barons, alike regardleſs of his love and hatred, returned home, and left him to ſuffer the conſequences of his own folly.

The king, before his departure, had appointed Geoffry Fitz-peers, and Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, regents of the realm in his abſence, and enjoined them to conſult the archbiſhop of Canterbury in all their deliberations. Accordingly the juſticiaries had ſummoned a council at St. Albans, where the king's peace was proclaimed, reviving the laws of Henry I. abrogating ſuch as were unjuſt and oppreſſive; aboliſhing aleſchots or drinking-booths, kept by foreſters to extort money from the people, on pretence of not informing againſt them for pretended tranſgreſſions on the royal demeſnes;

meſnes; and commanding all ſheriffs, foreſters, and other officers of the crown, to abſtain from theſe and the like practices for the future.

This aſſembly was hardly broke up, when the king returned from Jerſey, inflamed with fury and reſentment againſt the barons who had refuſed to ſerve him in the expedition; and as theſe were generally from the north, he immediately levied an army to puniſh them for their diſobedience.

With this view he had advanced as far as Northampton, when he was overtaken by Langton, who forbad him to proceed without the advice of his council, by which he had promiſed, in the oath he had taken at his abſolution, to be guided in all his meaſures. * John replied, that this was a ſecular affair, in which the clergy had no concern, and next morning ſet out †

* He was very clamorous on this occaſion, as appears from Paris's words. "Rex, cum *ingenti ſtrepitu* dixit ſe regni negotia propter archiepiſcopum "non differre, cum laica judicia ad ipſum non pertineant," *M. Paris.* p. 201.

Speed adds, from the manuſcript of M. Paris, that the king ſwore that he would not be hindered by a *petty prieſt*, from puniſhing the inſolence of his own vaſſals —"propter unum CLERIGASTRUM."

† "In craſtino autem ſummo diluculo, iter furibundus arripiens, verſus Nottingham properavit," *ibid.*

for Nottingham; but the archbiſhop purſued him thither, and threatened to excommunicate him and all his followers, unleſs they would deſiſt from the enterprize.

John finding it in vain to reſiſt, was at laſt obliged to diſmiſs his forces, and ſummoned the barons to anſwer in his court, which was held at Wallingford on the firſt of November. Here he was reconciled to his vaſſals, through the mediation of cardinal Nicholas, biſhop of Fraſcati, who had lately come into England, as the pope's legate *a latere*, to ſettle the eſtimate of the damages which the exiled prelates had ſuſtained.

Langton was poſſeſſed of all the pride, arrogance, and ambition of Becket, whoſe example he affected to imitate, and in whoſe honour he afterwards inſtituted a ſolemn feſtival. He aſpired to an abſolute authority, not only in eccleſiaſtical but likewiſe in civil affairs.

With this view he conferred privately with ſome of the diſcontented barons, whom he informed, that, when he had abſolved the king from the ſentence of excommunication, he *obliged* * him to ſwear that he would aboliſh

* Though this word may be ſhocking to a Proteſtant ear, yet it ſcarce conveys ſo ſtrong an idea as the original word "compulerim." *M. Paris*, p. 201.

aboliſh all unjuſt laws, and revive thoſe of Edward the confeſſor. * He then ſhewed them the charter which Henry I. had granted at his coronation, adding, that if they underſtood and regarded their own intereſts, and would act with vigour and reſolution, they might eaſily recover thoſe liberties, of which their anceſtors had been ſo unjuſtly deprived.

The barons, charmed with ſuch a tempting proſpect, ſwore that they would chearfully hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of ſo good a cauſe; and Langton promiſed to ſupport them with all the power and influence which, as primate of England, he poſſeſſed.

The king receiving ſome ſecret intimation of this conſpiracy, diſpatched the biſhop of Norwich to Rome, to enter complaints againſt the factious and turbulent behaviour of Langton; and † the pope,

* He pretended he had found it, inſinuating it had been loſt or forgotten: but as it appears to be the ſame as that mentioned in the beginning of the reign of Henry I. and was preſerved in the archives of every county, the primate's aſſertion ſeems to be a myſtery, which the authour does not pretend to explain or underſtand.

† Paris repreſents his holineſs to have been a monſter in ambition, inſatiably avaricious, and ſticking at nothing for the ſake of gain. He alledges, that he was bribed

who conſidered John as his own vaſſal, eſpouſed his cauſe with great ſincerity. He ſent a commiſſion to his * legate Nicholas, adviſing him to deſtroy the letters and bulls with which Langton had been entruſted, and which were to have been employed againſt the king, in caſe he had refuſed to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by his holineſs. He likewiſe wrote to the king himſelf, aſſuring him of his favour and protection, and adviſing him to avoid all diſputes and controverſies with the biſhops and clergy. At the ſame time he ſent letters to the king of Scotland, and to the biſhops, earls, and barons of England and Ireland, enjoining them to perſevere in their duty and alle-

bribed by a large ſum of money to eſpouſe the cauſe of John; and confirmed in his intereſt by the promiſe of greater largeſſes. *M. Paris. Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 206.

* This legate ſucceeded Pandulph, and was biſhop of Freſcati. Both Holingſhed and Grafton accuſe him of partiality to the king; and the former hiſtorian informs us, that it was probable the pope might have been influenced in favour of John by the addreſs of Pandulph, "who repreſented him to his holineſs as a "perſon of great merits, declaring that there was not "a more humble and modeſt prince to be found than "king John, and that the archbiſhop and his fellows "were too hard, and ſhewed themſelves too covetous "in requiring the reſtitution that ſhould be made to "them for loſſes ſuſtained in the time of the in-"terdict." *Holingſhed.* vol. ii. p. 182. *Grafton.* p. 108.

allegiance to John, as a vaſſal of the Roman ſee; and the legate was directed to annul all conſpiracies and aſſociations formed on account of the interdict.

* Nicholas received, on the third of October, the king's homage in the church of St. Paul, † together with the ſum of a thouſand marks as the firſt year's tribute, agreeable to a new inſtrument of John's reſignation and fealty, which was again drawn up, and ſealed with a golden bull.‡ On

* Paris inveighs very much againſt the king's ſervile ſubmiſſion, ſtiling it not an act of dignity but of infamy: his words are, "Ante majus altare coram clero "et populo exacta eſt a rege et innovata, illa non *for-* "*moſa* ſed *famoſa* ſubjectio; qua in manum domini "papæ diademate cum regno reſignato, tam domi- "nium Hyberniæ quam regnum ſubdidit Anglica- "num." *Matth. Paris.* p. 207.

† Hume, in his hiſtory, gives us an account of a diſpute between the king and clergy, prior to his performing this act of homage; which he authenticates from antient hiſtorians. He aſſerts, not without reaſon, that the new legate inſiſted upon John's making full reſtitution to the clergy, for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained; and that it was the pope's intention, never to *looſen* his ſentence till he complied. *Hume's Hiſt.* vol. i. chap. xi. p. 380. The latter clauſe is not expreſſed in Paris, nor in the annals of Waverly, which he has quoted with an affected exactneſs.

‡ Speed informs us that the charter being laid on the high altar, Stephen the archbiſhop of Canterbury boldly laid upon the ſame altar, in the name of the whole

this occaſion a general council of the prelates and nobility was aſſembled, in order to fix the eſtimate of the damages which the clergy had ſuſtained.

But this matter was attended with great difficulties, ariſing from the contradictory accounts given in by the king's officers, and the commiſſioners of the exiled biſhops. John, who was ſincerely deſirous of a reconciliation, and afraid of freſh ruptures, offered to pay, in the mean time, an hundred thouſand marks, and give ſecurity for the payment of what further ſum ſhould be found due, after a candid inquiſition. But the prelates rejected the propoſal, and endeavoured to protract the affair, hoping that the king's fears would induce him to comply with all their demands without exception.

In this expectation, however, they were greatly diſappointed. The legate, who conſidered John as a vaſſal of the Roman pontiff, and was unwilling to ſee him fleeced by any but his maſter, exerted his utmoſt endeavours in ſupport of the king's intereſt.

whole clergy, his proteſt againſt the charter ſo execrable to the whole world; having, prior to this, laboured to divert the king from this act of ſervility, and was joined by all the peers of the realm. *Speed's Hiſt.* book ix. chap. 8. p. 564. *Roſſius Warwic. Parh's Hiſt. min.* in manuſcript, in the Cottonian Library at the Britiſh Muſeum.

reſt. Accordingly, after the matter had been canvaſſed in three ſucceſſive councils, it was at laſt determined, in an aſſembly at Reading, that the biſhops ſhould * accept of fifteen thouſand marks in part of their demands, until the whole diſpute ſhould be ſettled; and Nicholas made a progreſs through the kingdom, viſiting the monaſteries, and filling up the vacant abbacies and priories, according to the pope's direction. †

The

* No leſs than twenty thouſand marks were demanded by the monks of Canterbury alone; twenty-three thouſand for the ſee of Lincoln; and the king himſelf had, prior to this, proffered the ſum of one hundred thouſand marks for his final acquittal. *Hume's Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 381.

† On the ſecond of October died Geoffrey Fitz-peter, juſticiary of England, whoſe death was a loſs to the whole nation; he was a perſon of extraordinary abilities, conſummately ſkilled in the laws of the kingdom, of conſiderable intereſt both on account of his birth and his poſſeſſions, and, in a word, the very pillar of the nation. The king had often been reſtrained, by his means, from ſeveral acts which would have rendered him unpopular, and was ſo elated at the news of his death, that he ſwore by the feet of *God*, his death had made him king of England; and, turning to ſome nobles who ſtood near him, ſaid, *When he comes to Hell let him ſalute archbiſhop Hubert, whom he will be ſure to find there. Holingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 181. *M. Paris*, p. 204. *Tyrrel*, vol. ii, p. 761.

The public tranquillity being thus re-eſtabliſhed, John reſolved to proſecute his expedition to Poitou, according to the agreement he had made with Raymond count of Thouloufe, and Guy count of Auvergne.* To this undertaking he was further incited by the importunities of Raymond, and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, who had come over to England in the winter, to receive their penſions, and concert the operations of the enſuing campaign. Theſe matters being ſettled to the ſatisfaction of all parties, the allies returned to the Continent, accompanied by the earl of Saliſbury, with a ſtrong body of forces; and John, having appointed Peter biſhop of Wincheſter juſticiary of the realm, which was likewiſe put under the protection of the legate, ſet ſail from Portſmouth on the ſecond of February, and on the fifteenth of the ſame month landed at Rochelle.

He was joined by Savory de Mauleon, as ſoon as he entered Poitou, where, in a ſhort time, he reduced a great number of caſtles. Among theſe was the famous fortreſs of Meluſine, belonging to Geoffry de Luſignan, who, together with Hugh count de la Marche, and his brother the count D'Eu, was obliged to repair to Parthenay, and do homage to the king of England.

In

* A. D. 1214.

In conſequence of this ſubmiſſion, John engaged to reſtore to the count D'Eu, all the lands he had formerly held in England, and to give his daughter Jane in marriage to Hugh's eldeſt ſon, with an annuity of two thouſand pounds ſterling.

Having thus ſecured the Poitevins in his intereſt, he advanced into Anjou, where he reduced Beaufort, with ſome other inconſiderable places; and having given directions for fortifying Angers, he inveſted the caſtle of la Roche in Maine, from whence he ſent out parties to ravage the Pais Nantois; and in a ſkirmiſh took Robert, eldeſt ſon of * the count de Dreux, with fourteen French noblemen.

But all theſe advantages he ſoon loſt, by his own puſillanimity. † Lewis, prince of France,

* He was nephew to the king of France, as appears from Paris. "Inter cæteros filium et hæredem comitis Roberti de Druis et avunculi Francorum regis, vinculis conſtrictum, ſecum rediens abduxit." *Mat. Paris*, p. 210.

† Matth. Paris ſets this affair in a more favourable light than other hiſtorians. According to his narrative, John ſent out his ſpies as ſoon as he heard of Louis's approach, who returned with an account that he was far ſuperior to the enemy in numbers, and perſuaded the king to offer them battle, aſſuring him that he could not fail of obtaining a complete victory. The king being thus animated by the repreſentations of the ſpies, ordered his troops to prepare themſelves for giving

France, and the mareſchal Henry Clement, advancing againſt him with a body of two thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot. John,

ing battle to Louis: but the Poictovine nobles refuſing to follow him, and the king, ſuſpecting ſome treachery, for which that nation was infamous, raiſed the ſiege. Louis being at the ſame time informed that the Engliſh monarch had ſtruck his tents, and apprehenſive that he was marched to attack him, fled from the rear of John's army: and both armies thus flying from each other, they mutually turned their backs upon one another. The original runs thus: "Cumque adventum ipſius rex Anglorum cognoviſſet, miſit exploratores—Nuncii revertentes dixerunt regem Anglorum multo majorem habere numerum bellatorum. Unde regi conſtanter perſuaſerunt, ut campeſtre prælium cum hoſtibus conſereret—Animatus autem rex dictus nunciorum ſuorum, juſſit quantocius milites ad arma convolare; ut occurrent Lodowico campeſtre prælium commiſſurus. Sed barones Pictaviæ regem ſequi contemnentes, dixerunt ſe ad campeſtre prælium non eſſe paratos. Tunc rex ſolitam proditionem Pictavenſium habens nimis ſuſpectam, cum captio caſtrorum illius immineret; maximo mœrore confuſus, ab obſidione receſſit Lodovicus itaque cum audiſſet regem Anglorum caſtra movere; timens ne ipſum invaderet, fugit a tergo Johannis regis, ſicque uterque exercitus ignominioſa dilapſus fuga, alter alterum a tergo ſalutavit." *Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 210. The manuſcript of *Rog. Wendov.* and *Paris' Hiſt. min.* corroborates this narrative; Speed likewiſe adopts it in his hiſtory, aſſerting, "that when John was at the point to give battle to Lewis the Dolphine, his ever faithful Poyctovins ſodainely forſooke him, and made him forſake his purpoſe." *Speed's Hiſt.*

Brady

John, though greatly ſuperior to the enemy in numbers, was ſtruck with ſuch a panic that he fled with the utmoſt precipitation; left all his tents, baggage, and military engines behind him; loſt a good number of his men in croſſing the Loire; and marched eighteen leagues in one day, without halting.

This inglorious retreat was followed, in a few days, by a more fatal diſaſter. * The allied

Brady confirms it by receiving it without the leaſt ſcruple and quoting Paris's own words to authenticate his narration. *Brady.* p. 494. A. Not but we muſt own that he immediately ſubjoins the account given in the text from the French hiſtorians, eſpecially from *Rigord.* p. 215. n. 30.

* All the account which Hume has condeſcended to give us of this remarkable action is this; "About "the ſame time, he [John] heard of the great and "deciſive victory gained by the king of France at "Bovines, over the emperor Otho, who had entered "France at the head of 150,000 Germans; a victory "which eſtabliſhed for ever the glory of Philip." *Hume's Hiſt.* vol. 1. p. 381. But, if the reader ſhould be diſſatisfied with ſuch a ſuperficial account of a battle that was replete with a variety of ſtriking circumſtances, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy his curioſity, by giving him an extract out of Paris's deſcription of this great event, which is agreeable to that of Rigord, the French king's chaplain, who was preſent in the ſcene of action.

"When the allied army firſt diſcovered the king of France, it was on a Sunday; and ſo great was the reverence

allied army, consisting of an hundred and fifty thousand men, and composed of English,

verence which was then paid to this day, by persons who made arms their profession, that Hugo de Boves was the only person who ridiculed it as a superstitious whim, and rather as a pretence made use of to cloak the pusillanimity and disloyalty of the other commanders, than a testimony of their piety. Stung with this reproach, the other commanders ran to arms in indignation, and prepared to attack the French king. The allied army was drawn up in three lines or divisions, the front being commanded by Ferrand, count of Flanders, Reginald, count of Boulogne, and William, count of Salisbury. The second division was under the command of William, count of Holland, Beves, with the Flemings in Front, and the third consisted of Germans, headed by Otho, the Roman emperor. They marched with the greatest resolution towards the enemy. In the mean time, the French king had ordered the bridge in the rear of his army to be destroyed, to prevent his men from all hopes of escaping by flight. After this precaution, he patiently waited to receive the attack of the allies, who marched without the sound of trumpets, and fell upon the French army with such vigour, that they penetrated quite to the king's post. Reginald, exasperated at the sight of Louis, by the revival of the injuries he had done him, felled him to the ground with his lance, and would have killed him on the spot, had not one of the French soldiers stept in between the king and the blow, and saved his monarch's life at the expence of his own. The French, alarmed at the danger of their king, made a bold push for his rescue, remounted him on his horse with great difficulty, and, after a vigorous opposition, turned the fortune of the day. For the English generals being overcome with numbers,

gliſh, Imperialiſts, Dutch, and Flemings, was totally defeated by Philip at Bovines,

numbers, fatigued with the toil of reſiſtance, and at too great a diſtance to receive any ſuccours from their main body, found their retreat cut off, and were taken priſoners. Whilſt this was doing in that part of the French army where the king was, another part of his troops were no leſs ſucceſsful, having broken the body commanded by Hugo de Boves, and purſued them, ſword in hand, as far as the diviſion commanded by the emperour. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, they ſurrounded his army, with an intention either to ſlay him, or to compel him to ſurrender. But Otho, holding his ſword in both his hands, like a ſcythe, mowed down all before him, and ſtruck terror in all the adverſe army. In this manner he had no leſs than three horſes killed under him, and was ſuffered by the enemy to make his eſcape. *Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Anglic.* p. 211, 212. The emperour's ſtandard, which was a dragon under an imperial eagle gilt, was torn and taken, and the chariot in which it was carried was broken in pieces: five earls were taken priſoners, among which were Ferrand earl of Flanders, Reginald earl of Boulogne, and William Longeſpeé, or Long-Sword, baſe brother to king John, beſides twenty five noblemen who carried banners. Ferrand was impriſoned in a ſtrong tower at Paris, and Reginald in the caſtle of Perone, in Picardy, where he was laden with irons, and chained to a great piece of timber." *Rigord*, p. 216. n. 10, &c. The Pariſians received their victorious king with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy on his return to their city, and continued their feſtivity for a day and a night afterwards. *Paris*, p. 212. As for John, he was ſo much affected with this defeat; a defeat that put an end to all his deſigns

where the counts of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne, with the earl of Saliſbury, were taken priſoners, the emperor Otho himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty.

This victory, beſides putting an end to all the deſigns of the king of England, effectually prevented a revolt which Hervey, count of Nevers, and ſeveral other French noblemen had concerted in conjunction with the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Normandy.

Philip, in order to improve the advantage he had gained, immediately advanced into Poitou, and received at Loudun the ſubmiſſion of the viſcount of Thouars, to whom he was reconciled by the mediation of Peter de Dreux, duke of Bretagne; and John, diſpirited by the loſſes he had ſuffered, and alarmed at the proſpect of ſtill greater dangers, was obliged to ſue for a peace; in order to obtain which, he ſollicited the good offices of Robert de Curzon, an Engliſhman, who reſided at the court of France, as the pope's legate, aſſuring him, that he intended

ſigns againſt Philip, that he is ſaid to have declared, *He had never had any good luck after his reconciliation with the pope.* The annals of Waverly confirm the ſubſtance of this note, but give us not the particulars of the action.

tended to undertake an expedition for the relief of the chriſtians in Paleſtine.

Robert ſerved him with fidelity and ſucceſs: he prevailed upon Philip to agree to a truce for five years, during which every thing ſhould remain, on each ſide, in its preſent ſituation; and Robert de Dreux being exchanged for the earl of Saliſbury, John returned to England, covered with ſhame and diſgrace.

During his abſence, a diſpute had ariſen between the legate and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, from which he derived ſome advantage.

* Nicholas had taken the liberty of filling up all the eccleſiaſtical vacancies, without

* Paris ſeems to have been very warm on this ſubject, and charges every exerciſe of the legate's authority as an intruſion, rather than an election agreeable to the canons. "Poſt octavas epiphaniæ, ſays our "author, convenerunt ad Dunſtaplium Stephanus "Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopus, cum ſuis ſuffraganeis, "ut de negotiis eccleſiæ Anglicanæ tractarent ibidem. "Moleſte enim ſupra modum ferebant, quod legatus "ſupradictus, ut prædiximus, illis inconſultis, regiis "favens voluntatibus, in eccleſiis vacantibus prælatos "minus ſufficientes poſuerat, *intruſione* magis quam "*electione canonica*. Tandem cum hinc inde varia "ſorte tractaſſent, archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis duos "clericos, apud Burtonam, ſuper flumen Trente, ubi "tunc legatus erat, miſit, qui eidem ex parte domini "Cantuarienſis, *interpoſita interpellatione, prohibuerunt*

"ne

the concurrence of Langton, who, piqued at this inſult upon his authority, convoked his ſuffragans at Dunſtaple, and with their conſent, inhibited the legate from aſſuming that power for the future, appealing to the pope from any ſtep he ſhould take contrary to this inhibition.

But Nicholas knew his own ſtrength too well to be intimidated by ſuch a declaration: he ſtill continued to fill up the vacant benefices; and, in the mean time, ſent Pandulf to Rome to oppoſe the appeal of the archbiſhop.

Innocent was already prejudiced againſt Langton and his ſuffragans. He had been credibly informed, that theſe prelates embezzled the greateſt part of the Peter-pence collected within their reſpective dioceſes, remitting only about three hundred marks, while they received no leſs than a thouſand; and he had actually ſent a commiſſion to his legate, empowering him to call them to an account for this abuſe of the papal revenue, and compel them to refund, by dint of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if it ſhould be neceſſary.

On

" ne contra dignitatem ſuam, ad quam ordinatio ec-
" cleſiarum, ſuæ dioceſis de jure ſpectabat, prælatos
" in eccleſiis vacantibus, inſtituere præſumeret." *Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Maj. p.* 208.

On the other hand, he had a very favourable opinion of the ability and addreſs of Nicholas. The ſucceſs of his negotiation in England had exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. He had already ſeen the golden bull of reſignation and homage; he had touched the firſt annual payment of his tribute; and he was aſſured that Nicholas exerciſed his legatine powers with the moſt abſolute ſway, and without any interruption either from the king or the people.

No wonder, therefore, that he lent a deaf ear to all the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, and treated the repreſentations of the archbiſhop with indifference and contempt. He confirmed the legate in the poſſeſſion of his authority: he favoured the king with a grant, exempting his perſon from excommunication, and his royal chapel from an interdict, without a ſpecial mandate from his holineſs; by which means he was ſecure from the cenſures of the metropolitan; and he directed Nicholas to deliver the kingdom from the interdict, upon John's giving ſecurity for paying twelve thouſand pounds a year to Langton and the other biſhops who had been exiled, until the whole ſhould amount to forty thouſand marks, the ſum at which the eſtimate of the damages was fixed.

In conſequence of this order, Nicholas aſſembled a council at St. Paul's, on the third of July; and at it appeared, upon examination, that the biſhops had received twelve thouſand marks, during their exile, by the hands of Pandulf, and fifteen thouſand more ſince their return to England; and, as John found ſureties for the thirteen thouſand that remained unpaid, the interdict, which had continued ſix years, was taken off, to the unſpeakable joy of the whole nation.

The biſhops indeed were ſomewhat diſſatisfied with this decision, as they had formerly rejected a larger ſum by way of compenſation; * but John endeavoured to make them

* The annals of Waverly expreſsly aſſert, that no reſtitution or compenſation was made to the inferior clergy; as will appear from the original. "In oct. "ſancti Johannis baptiſtæ, celebratum eſt concilium "apud Londinum, a domino Nicholao legato et Sy-"mone Cantuarienſis archiepiſcopo, et aliis epiſcopis "Angliæ: ubi ſolutum eſt interdictum Angliæ, an-"no ejuſdem interdicti vii. vi. non. Julii, feria iv. "in feſtu ſanctorum proceſſi et Martiniani, et in craſ-"tino per omnes eccleſias pulſatum eſt et celebratum; "viris tantum religioſis aut aliis mediocribus eccleſi-"arum perſonis, nulla ablatorum facta, reſtitutione, vel "damnorum recompenſatione." *Ann. Waverl. p.* 180. And no ſooner was the interdict removed, than the legate was addreſſed by innumerable multitudes of templars, hoſpitallers, and other religious, who ſet forth

them ſome amends by grants of lands, rents, and fairs in their manors; liberty to incloſe their woods within his foreſts, and ſeveral other privileges and immunities.

This diſpute was followed by another of a very different nature *, and of far greater importance

forth the hardſhips they had underwent during the interdict, and prayed that they might be indemnified for their loſſes: but the legate received their addreſs with great indifference; told them, that he was not empowered by the pope to take cognizance of their complaints, and adviſed them to apply to his holineſs for ſatisfaction. *Matth. Paris, p.* 210.

* Hume, though no friend either to the clergy or revealed religion, gives us the following extraordinary character of Langton; who was undoubtedly a man of more ambition than learning, of more pride than policy, and of more ſuperſtition than piety. "Nothing, ſays our author, forwarded this confederacy "ſo much as the concurrence of Langton, archbi- "ſhop of Canterbury, a man, whoſe memory, tho' "he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable en- "croachment of the ſee of Rome, ought always to "be reſpected by the Engliſh. This prelate, whether "he was moved by the generoſity of his nature, and "his affection to public good; or had entertained "an animoſity againſt John, on account of the long "oppoſition made by that prince to his election; or "thought, that an acquiſition of liberty to the people "would ſerve to encreaſe and ſecure the privileges of "the church; had formed the plan of reforming the "government, and had prepared the way for that "great innovation, by inſerting theſe ſingular clauſes "abovementioned, in the oath, which he adminiſtred "to the king before he would abſolve him from the "ſentence of excommunication."

importance. The barons of Langton's party, had, immediately after the king's return from abroad, assembled at * St. Edmundsbury under pretence of devotion, and all of them swore upon the great altar, that they would go to the king at Christmas, and demand the confirmation of their liberties contained in the charter of Henry I. and the laws to which it referred, and, in case of refusal, would compel him to do them justice by force of arms.

Accordingly, in the beginning of January, † they repaired to London, in a military garb and equipage, and presented their

* The form of the oath is preserved in Matthew Paris's history, from which we have copied it for the satisfaction of the curious; "Convenerunt universi "ad ecclesiam sancti Eadmundi, et, incipientibus majoribus, juraverunt supra majus altare, *Quod si* "*rex leges et libertates jam dictas concedere diffugeret,* "*ipsi ei guerram tamdiu moverent, ut ab ejus fidelitate* "*se subtraherent, donec eis per chartam sigillo suo mu-*"*nitam confirmaret omnia quæ petebant.* Atque in hoc "tandem communiter consenserunt, *ut post natale Domini* "*simul omnes ad regem venientes, libertates præscriptas* "*sibi peterent confirmari. Atque interim in equis sibi* "*et armis taliter providerent; quod si forte rex vellet* "*juramento, quod bene credebant, resilire propter suam* "*duplicitatem; ipsi protinus per captionem castrorum* "*suorum, eum ad satisfactionem compellerent.*" *Matth. Paris*, p. 212.

† A. D. 1215.

their demand to the * king, reminding him of the promiſe he had made to grant it to them, when he was abſolved at Wincheſter.

John could not deny that he had made ſuch a promiſe; but he could eaſily refuſe to perform it; and this, he thought, he might do with the greater ſafety, as he had been lately reconciled to the clergy, whoſe countenance he expected to enjoy in all his meaſures, and by whoſe aſſiſtance, he imagined, he ſhould be able to defeat all the attempts of the barons. He therefore † rejected their petition, and even required

* He was then at the *New Temple*, which ſtood on the ſame ſpot of ground as the *Inner* and *Middle Temple* do at preſent.

† Paris's account of this tranſaction is ſomewhat different, and it concerns our character of impartiality to lay it before the reader. According to our authour, the king perceiving the conſtancy and intrepidity of the barons in inſiſting on his compliance with their demands, and being likewiſe apprized that they were prepared for a rupture, endeavoured to ward off the blow which threatened him, by replying to their addreſs, that it was an affair of great moment and great difficulty, and therefore deſired he might have until the next Eaſter for deliberation, and be enabled to return them ſuch an anſwer as was conſiſtent with his own dignity and ſafety. After ſome altercation, the king, though much againſt his will, was obliged to make uſe of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Ely, and William Marſhal

required them to promiſe under their hands and ſeals, that they would never demand, or extort ſuch liberties, either from him or his ſucceſſors.

But he was ſoon convinced of his error: all the noblemen about his perſon, except the biſhop of Wincheſter, the earl of Cheſter, and William Briwere, refuſed to obey this order, as being entirely inconſiſtent with the maxims of a free government; and the aſſociated barons not only perſiſted in their demand, but threatened to make it good by force of arms.

John finding himſelf thus beſet, began to be ſenſible of his danger, and, in order to gain time, deſired that he might defer

ſhal as his ſureties, that, on the day appointed, he would anſwer their expectations. That the learned reader may be confident we have not miſrepreſented our authour, we have ſubjoined his own words. "Audiens autem baronum in hac exactione conſtantiam, metuebat quam plurimum impetum eorum, quos vidit paratos ad prælium, reſpondit magnam eſſe rem et difficilem, quam petebant; unde poſtulabat inducias uſque ad clauſum Paſcha, ut, habita deliberatione, et ſibi et coronæ ſuæ poſſit ſatisfacere dignitati. Sed tandem multis hinc et inde propoſitis, rex, licet invitus, archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, epiſcopum Elienſem, et Willielmum Mareſchallum fidejuſſores invenit, quod, die præfixa, ratione mediante, ſatisfaceret univerſis." *Matth. Paris*, p. 213. Hollingſhed aſſerts that, "the king gave them a gentle anſwer" *Hollingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 184.

defer his anſwer upon a matter of ſo great importance, 'till the latter end of Eaſter, when he promiſed to give them full and ample ſatisfaction.

The * confederates, conſcious of the juſtice of their cauſe, which, they thought, would

* The cauſes aſſigned for this diſpute between the king and his barons are various; but the variety ſeems to be eaſily accounted for from the different parties they were of, with reſpect to politics. Holingſhed informs us, from Bernewel, that the chief cauſe of the conſpiracy, was the demand which the king made of eſcuage from thoſe who refuſed to attend him in his expeditions to Poictou: which the barons refuſed to pay, on pretence that they were not obliged to do it for any wars which the king carried on beyond ſeas. This refuſal was the cauſe of great animoſities, which, as our authour ſays, were greatly inflamed, when the barons were in poſſeſſion of the charter of Henry I. Caxton and Fabian aſſert that the variance between the king and his barons, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the baniſhment of the earl of Cheſter, who was ſent into exile by the king, merely becauſe he made frequent remonſtrances to him againſt his cruelties, his adulteries, and his cohabiting with his brother's wife. Hector Boethius aſcribes all his troubles to the oppreſſions with which he harraſſed his ſubjects, and Hemingford imputes them partly to the ſame cauſe, but more particularly to his laſcivious behaviour, and boundleſs luſt. *Holingſhed*, p. 184. *Chronic. T. Hemingford*, p. 557. All theſe reaſons are recapitulated by Hume, who has no mercy upon the character of this king; "Equally "odious and contemptible, ſays our authour, both in "public and private life, he affronted the barons by "his

would bear the moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny; and confident of their own ſtrength, which they were perſuaded would rather be encreaſed than diminiſhed by length of time, readily agreed to the propoſal.

But John was as inſincere in making this promiſe, as he had been in all his others. Inſtead of employing the interval he had now obtained, in adjuſting the terms of a reaſonable accommodation, he reſolved to take ſuch precautions as might effectually ſecure him againſt the attempts of his barons, whoſe petition he was fully determined to reject.

With this view, he exacted a new oath of allegiance from all perſons in the kingdom; and courted the favour of the clergy, by granting * a charter, eſtabliſhing the right of free elections in all churches, monaſteries, cathedrals and conventual ſocieties, obliging himſelf and his ſucceſſours to

"his inſolence, diſhonoured their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, and gave "diſcontent to all men, by his endleſs exactions and "impoſitions." *Hume's Hiſt. England*, vol. i. p. 382.

* Hume obſerves that the king by this charter, "abandoned for ever, that important prerogative "for which his father and all his anceſtors had "zealouſly contended." *Hume's Hiſt.* vol. i. And thus it remained alienated frem the crown, as the annotator to Rapin obſerves, till it was reſumed in the reign of Henry VIII.

to give a *Conge d' Elire* immediately upon the death of the incumbent, and to confirm the election by the royal aſſent, unleſs ſome ſolid objection could be urged to the contrary.

But there was ſtill a more effectual method of ſecuring himſelf againſt the attacks of his enemies. Thoſe who engaged in expeditions for the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, were under the particular protection of the Roman ſee; their perſons and lands were deemed ſacred and inviolable, and could not be attacked by any one without ſubjecting the aggreſſor to the higheſt cenſures of the church, and loading him with a general odium. With this * impenetrable ſhield, John reſolved to defend himſelf againſt the ſtorm that was now ready to burſt upon him.

Accordingly, on Candlemas-day he aſſumed the croſs, and felicitated himſelf in the

* Matthew Paris, who never loſes any opportunity of blackening the character of this monarch, even at the ſame time, as he reminds his reader that in affairs of a dubious nature, we ought to incline towards the charitable ſide, adds, that John was moved to take this ſtep not from any religious motive, but from fear, or cowardice. "Ut ſibi melius provideret, "in die purificationis beatæ Mariæ crucem domini "ſuſcepit, *timore* potius, quam *devotione*, (*in dubiis pro "meliore parte, interpretandum eſt*) ut ſcilicet crucis "protectione tutior efficeretur." *Matt. Paris*, p. 213.

ſecurity of his ſpiritual armour. But as he knew that this armour derived all its virtue from the pope, and doubted whether, if his ſubjects ſhould actually make an attack upon his perſon, they would really find him invulnerable, he thought it moſt adviſable to apply to his holineſs, and entreat him to prohibit the barons from making the dangerous experiment.

With this view he ſent William Mauclere to the court of Rome, to prefer his complaints againſt the conſpirators, and deſire the pope to take him under his particular protection. The barons, unwilling to have their cauſe prejudiced by an unfair or * partial

* If the injury with which John had endeavoured to diſhonour the family of Veſci be a matter of fact; this nobleman muſt have been ſo much enraged againſt the king, and ſo much inflamed by revenge that he could in no reſpect be deemed an *impartial* perſon. As the ſtory ſeems to reſt upon the authority of Hemingford, and is not tranſcribed by any of our modern hiſtorians we doubt not but the reader will excuſe us for giving him an extract of it. The king having indulged a lawleſs deſire for Veſci's wife, who was a woman of great beauty; but not having any opportunity to gratify his paſſion, on account of her huſband's jealouſy, who never ſuffered her to come to court; being one day at table with Veſci, and taking notice of a ring he had on his finger, told him that he had juſt ſuch another ſtone, which he would have ſet in the very ſame manner. The baron ſuſpecting no harm, lent the ring to his majeſty; who ſent it

tial repreſentation, immediately diſpatched Euſtace de Veſci, and other agents, to vindicate their conduct, and ſolicit the media-

 tion

it by his page to Veſci's lady, and commanded him to tell her, as from her lord, that he was juſt expiring, and, if ſhe deſired to ſee him before he died, muſt ſet out for London immediately. The lady immediately obeyed the meſſage, but Veſci meeting with her as he was taking a walk, was informed of the reaſon of her being in thoſe parts. The baron eaſily gueſſing the king's deſign, prevailed on his lady to dreſs a woman of the town, or ſome laundreſs, in her cloaths, and, after having introduced her to the king in her ſtead, to retire immediately to the place ſhe came from. Sometime after, John bragging of his amours to Veſci, told him that he had a fine woman, and a good bedfellow for his lady; Veſci immediately aſking his majeſty how he knew that; and the monarch anſwering him;—by experience; the knight informed him of the artifice he had put upon him. The king enraged at being thus inſulted and outwitted, would have murdered Veſci, in his paſſion, had he not made his eſcape. Veſci, in his retreat to the north, ravaged the king's demeſnes; and being joined by many of the nobility, whoſe beds had been diſhonoured by the king's amours, they ſeized on ſeveral forts and caſtles belonging to the king, and were joined by the citizens of London.—As this account is no more than an extract, the learned reader may be perhaps pleaſed with the original, which we have ſubjoined to authenticate our own narrative. "Quod quidem extitit principium "et origo univerſalis guerræ et ſeditionis magnæ—fuit "enim eodem tempore inter commenſales regis or-"natiſſimus baro et ſtrenuiſſimus miles Euſtachius "de Veſci, habens uxorem pulcherriman et caſtam.

"Quam

tion of his holineſs towards the recovery of their rights and privileges: they aſſured the pope, that the demand was not only avow-

ed

" Quam cum ipſe rex ultra modum concupiſceret, non
" poterat ad eam attingere, eo quod per dominum
" ſuum a conſpectu ipſius longius tenebatur, et gratis.
" Contigit autem, dum quadam die ſimul in menſa
" ſederet rex et Euſtachius, vidit rex annulum in di-
" gito ejus et apprehendit eum, dicens ſe habere con-
" ſimilem lapidem, quem eodem artificio vellet in
" auro concludi. At ille nihil mali ſuſpicans acco-
" modavit eum regi. Rex vero, accito confeſtim
" puero; miſit eum cum annulo ad uxorem Euſtachii,
" qui diceret ei ex parte ejuſdem domini ſui; quod
" cum feſtinatione veniret ad eum Londonium, ſi eum
" unquam videre vellet in vita, eo quod infirmabatur
" ad mortem. At illa, viſo annulo, confeſtim pro-
" peravit, credens eſſe vera, quæ dicebantur ei. Contigit
" modo die quadam, dum ſpatiatum iret dominus ejus,
" ut caſu obviaverit ei, et, ea viſa, admirans ait;
" quid agis hic, O domina mea? At illa, rei ſeriem
" pandens, oſtendit ei annulum ſuum. Qui regis frau-
" dem ſciens, ait, doloſe vocata es, ut illuderet tibi
" rex: Nunc ergo, ornata in veſte tua lotrice, vel
" meretrice aliqua, quæ ingrediatur ad regem loco tui,
" tu abſque ulla dilatione revertere in locum unde ve-
" niſti. Quo facto, die quadam, dum confabularentur
" ad invicem rex et Euſtachius, et gloriaretur rex in
" operibus ſuis peſſimis, ait rex; pulcram habes, O
" Euſtachi, dominam, et, nocturno ſilentio, bene pla-
" centem: cui Euſtachius, et quomodo noſti, O rex?
" —Et ille, cognovi jam et expertus ſum. At ille, non
" ita rex, non enim habuiſti uxorem meam; ſed loco
" ſui horrendam meretricem, vel lotricem. Iratuſque
" rex, addito juramento, comminatus eſt ei mortem,

" et

ed by the northern barons, who had firſt formed the ſcheme, but was likewiſe countenanced by the nation in general; and, in order to induce him to comply with their requeſt, they inſiſted upon their own merit in maintaining the liberty of the church, while the kingdom lay under the interdict.

But the court of Rome was, by no means, a proper tribunal for diſcuſſing a matter of this nature. Innocent conſidered John as his vaſſal; and as he wiſely judged that the more powerful his vaſſal was, the more capable would he be of furniſhing thoſe ſums of money, which, from time to time, he meant to exact from him, he reſolved to ſupport his intereſt with all the authority of the Roman ſee.

" et cum in eum exſurgere vellet, proſiluit ab eo; et " in recedendo a rege verſus partes boreales, domos " ſuas proprias, una cum maneriis regiis in via de- " molivit. Adjunctique ſunt ei multi magnatum, et " illi præcipue quorum uxores violaverat rex. Inſur- " rexeruntque unanimiter in regem, et creverunt in " populum magnum: occupaveruntque caſtra et mu- " nitiones regias et jura regis demoliti ſunt. Londo- " nienſes etiam favebant eis et populum populo ad- " diderunt." *Chron. T. Hem.* cap. civ. p. 558. This authour labours hard to blacken the character of the unfortunate monarch; but, like other calumniators, does harm to the cauſe he eſpouſes, and robs it of all the glory which other authours attribute to it.

* For this purpose, he wrote letters to the prelates and barons of England, commanding them to treat the king with all that respect and deference which was due to their lawful sovereign, and a vassal of the see of Rome: he reproached the bishops for fomenting, favouring, or even conniving at these dissensions, and enjoined them to promote peace and concord between the parties:

* The motives which influenced the pope on this occasion, are thus assigned by Hume: "Innocent, says "our authour, beheld with regret the disturbance "which had arisen in England, and was much in- "clined to favour John in his pretensions. He had "no other hopes of retaining and extending his newly "acquired superiority over the kingdom, but by sup- "porting so base and degenerate a prince, who was "willing to sacrifice every consideration to his pre- "sent safety; and he foresaw, that, if the admini- "stration fell into the hands of the gallant and high "spirited barons, they would vindicate the honour, "liberty, and independance of the nation, with the "same ardour which they now exerted in defence of "their own. He wrote letters, therefore, to the pre- "lates, to the nobility, and to the king himself. He "exhorted the first to employ their good offices in "*conciliating peace between* the contending parties, and "putting an end to civil discord: to the second he ex- "pressed his disapprobation of their conduct, in em- "ploying force to extort concessions from their re- "luctant sovereign. The last, he advised to treat his "nobles with *grace* and indulgence, and to grant "them such of their demands, as should appear just "and reasonable." *Hume's Hist. of England.* vol. i. p. 384.

ties: he exhorted the barons to prefer their complaints to the king, with all the humility and ſubmiſſion of dutiful and loyal ſubjects, in which caſe he would interpoſe his good offices, in order to procure them a redreſs of their grievances; but, in the mean time, he declared their aſſociation null, and ſtrictly prohibited them from forming any ſuch conſpiracy for the future.

But * John's ſtupidity was equal to his wickedneſs. The very means he had employed

* The effect which theſe letters from the pope had upon the barons, are thus accounted for by Hume; who, perhaps, makes their conduct more reaſonable than it really was, and ſuggeſts motives in their vindication, which might never have been conceived by their imagination. "The barons, ſays our authour, "eaſily ſaw, from the tenor of theſe letters, that they "muſt lay their account with having the pope, as "well as the king, for their adverſary; but they had "already advanced too far to recede from their preten-"ſions, and their paſſions were ſo deeply engaged, "that it exceeded even the power of ſuperſtition it-"ſelf any longer to controul them. They alſo fore-"ſaw, that the thunders of Rome, when not ſeconded "by the efforts of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, would be "of ſmall avail againſt them; and they perceived, "that the moſt conſiderable of the prelates, as well "as all the inferior clergy, profeſſed the higheſt ap-"probation of their cauſe. Beſides, that theſe men "were ſeized with the national paſſion for laws and "liberty; bleſſings of which they themſelves expected

"to

ployed to intimidate the barons, ſerved only to render them more reſolute and determined in the proſecution of their ſcheme. They re-

" to partake; there concurred very powerful cauſes to " *looſen* their devoted attachment to the apoſtolic ſee. " It appeared from all the late uſurpations of the Ro- " man pontiff, that he pretended to reap alone all the " advantages accruing from that victory, which, un- " der his banners, though at their own hazard, they " had every where obtained over the civil magiſtrate. " The pope aſſumed a deſpotic power over all the " churches: their particular cuſtoms, privileges, and " immunities, were treated with diſdain; even the " canons of the general councils were ſet aſide by his " diſpenſing power: the whole adminiſtration of the " church was centered in the court of Rome: all " preferments ran of courſe in the ſame channel: " and the provincial clergy ſaw, at leaſt felt, that " there was a neceſſity of limiting theſe exorbitant " pretenſions. The legate, Nicholas, in filling thoſe " numerous vacancies which had fallen in England " during an interdict of ſix years, had proceeded in " the moſt arbitrary manner, and had paid no regard, " in conferring dignities, to perſonal merit, to rank, " to the inclination of the electors, or to the cuſtoms " of the country. The Engliſh church was univerſally " diſguſted; and Langton himſelf, though he owed " his elevation to an encroachment of the Romiſh " ſee, was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in his high office, " than he became jealous of the privileges annexed to " it, and formed attachments with the country ſub- " jected to his juriſdiction. Theſe cauſes, though " they opened ſlowly the eyes of men, failed not to " produce their effect: they ſet bounds to the uſurpa- " tions of the papacy: the tide firſt ſtopped, and then

" turned

reproached him with his meanneſs and puſillanimity, in becoming a vaſſal to the ſee of Rome, and reſigning the independency of the Engliſh crown; and, by their agents and emiſſaries, they excited ſuch a ſpirit of rebellion in the nation, that moſt of the conſiderable barons engaged in the confederacy. Alike regardleſs of the pope's remonſtrance, and the king's privilege as a pilgrim, they appointed their rendezvous at Stamford, where, in Eaſter-week, * they aſſembled

" turned againſt the ſovereign pontiff: and it is other-
" wiſe inconceivable, how that age, ſo prone to ſu-
" perſtition, and ſo ſunk in ignorance, or rather ſo
" devoted to a ſpurious erudition, could have eſcaped
" falling into an abſolute and total ſlavery under the
" court of Rome." *Hume's Hiſt. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 385.

* The chief perſonages, or incendiaries, engaged in this conſpiracy, were Robert Fitzwalter, Euſtachius de Veſci, Richard de Percy, Robert de Ros, Peter de Bruis, Nicholas de Statevil, Saei earl of Wincheſter, Robert earl of Clare, Roger earl Bigad, William de Mumbray or Mawbray, Roger de Creiſſy, Ranulph Fitz-Robert, Robert de Ver, Fulk Fitz-Warin, William Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchamp, S. de Kime, William Marſhal junior, William Mauduit, Roger de Mont-Bigon, John Fitz-Robert, John Fitz-Allan, G. de Laval, O. Fitz-Allan, William de Hebury, O. de Vallibus or Vaus, G. de Gant, Maurice de Gant, R. de Brackeſle, R. de Montfichet, William de Lanvalei, Geoffrey de Mandeville earl of Eſſex, William his brother, William

ſembled to the number of two thouſand knights, with an immenſe train of followers. After concerting the proper meaſures for the proſecution of their plan, they advanced to Brackley, about five leagues diſtant from Oxford, where the king then reſided.

John,

liam de Huntingfield, Robert de Greſley, G. conſtable of Mentum, Alexander de Pointum, Peter Fitz-John, Alexander de Sutun, Oſbert de Bobi, John conſtable of Cheſter, Thomas de Muletun, Comanus Fitz-Ely, and many others. *Matth. Paris*, p. 213. The account which Holingſhed gives us of this confederacy, from Polydore Virgil, being ſomewhat different from that of Matthew Paris, we ſhall lay it before the reader. "The king, according to our author, ſent "the barons away with a gentle anſwer, though he "never intended to comply with their terms, and "foreſeeing that his refuſal would occaſion a civil "war, raiſed forces, fortified his caſtles, and filled "them with garriſons and proviſions, that he might "prevent the blow which threatened him, and might "ſecure himſelf, in caſe his enemies proved too "ſtrong for him. In conſequence of the king's mo- "tions, the barons likewiſe applied themſelves to "ſuch meaſures as they thought would diſconcert "his deſigns, and took up arms in their own de- "fence." The rendezvous at Stamford, is repreſented by our author, as occaſioned by the hoſtile preparations of John, and his ſwearing that he would never condeſcend to grant their demands. *Holingſhed*, vol. ii. p. 184.

John, alarmed at their formidable appearance, sent * the archbishop of Canterbury, the

* Holingshed says that the king put great confidence in this prelate; but how much he was deceived, appears from Paris, who tells us that he was the original incendiary, and the ringleader of the plot. "Fecerunt autem principes præsumptionis et *incentores*, &c.—Isti communes conjurati et confœderati, "Stephanum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum capitalem "consentaneum habuerunt." *Matth. Paris*, p. 213. That we do not cast unmerited odium upon this prelate, may be easily collected from the whole tenour of his conduct. Mr. Hume indeed seems, contrary to his natural antipathy to the ministers of the church, to represent him as a person of a fair character; of generous principles, and patriotic views, as may be seen in a former extract, which we have made from his history. But, if the reader should rather chuse the opinion of others than our own, in an affair of this kind, we will beg leave to recommend the following character of Langton to his notice. "This "prelate seems to have come into England full of "rancour against him [John;] resolved to distress "his government, and to embroil the kingdom; "though it doth not appear that John had given him "any personal provocation: and it is very certain, he "had made no encroachment upon the rights of the "church; being, since he was subdued by the pope, "the tamest, and most submissive animal in nature, "granting his *conge d'elire* immediately upon the vacancy of prelacies, and leaving the chapters and "convents to a free election, without offering to interpose, by the recommendation of any particular "person. But Langton, copying after his predecessor "*Becket*, wanted to have to himself the disposal of

"all

the earl of Pembroke, and others of his council, to know the particulars of their demand; and they delivered a schedule, containing their ancient rights and privileges * extracted from the charter of Henry I. and the laws of Edward the confessor. John, having read the contents, † was filled with surprize and indignation; and asking, with a contemptuous ‡ sneer, why they had not demanded the kingdom,

" all ecclesiastical dignities, and to act in civil affairs, " as if he was master of the kingdom," &c. *Carte's Hist.* vol. i. p. 824.

* At the same time they declared, that unless the king immediately complied with the contents, and ratified his consent under his seal, they were determined to compel him to it by all kinds of hostilities. Matthew Paris gives us this account in the following words. " At illi nunciis prælibatis schedulam por- " rexerunt, quæ, ex parte maxima, leges antiquas et " regni consuetudines continebat, affirmantes quod, " nisi rex illas incontinenti concederet, et sigilli mu- " nimine confirmaret, ipsi per captionem castrorum " suorum, terrarum et possessionum, ipsum regem " compellerent, donec supra præmissis satisfaceret " competenter." *Matth. Paris*, p. 213.

† Matthew Paris says, that he recited the heads of the articles by the strength of his memory: his words are, " Capitula singula coram ipso memoriter " recitavit."

‡ " Cum indignatione maxima *subsannans* ait, &c." *Paris*,

dom *, plainly told them that he would never comply with their requeſt.

This was no more than the barons had reaſon to expect: they knew the king's ambition too well, to think he would ever willingly reſign any part of what he called his prerogative; but they knew, at the ſame time, that his fear was greater than his ambition, and that what they could not obtain by the arts of perſuaſion, they could eaſily extort by force of arms.

They immediately appointed Robert Fitz-Walter their general; diſtinguiſhing him by the title of † mareſchal or conſtable of the

* "He aſked why the barons did not, conſiſtent "with their iniquitous exactions, demand his king-"dom? and treated their terms as capricious, and "without the leaſt colour of reaſon. At laſt, work-"ed up to an exceſſive degree of fury; he ſwore "he would riſk his crown rather than ſubmit to ſuch "inglorious terms." *Matth. Paris.*

† "Appellantes eum *mareſchallum exercitus dei et* "*eccleſiæ ſanctæ.*" One would imagine, from the earl's title, that this war was undertaken in defence of religion; but the reader will be apt to conſider, that moſt, if not all the civil wars which have troubled this nation, were furniſhed with this ſpecious palliative. Yet, if we conſider this affair in the ſame light as it muſt have been by the bigots of theſe times, we cannot but be aſtoniſhed at the ſtrange prevarication they were guilty of. When John oppoſed the nomination of Langton to the primacy, as an incroachment

army of God and holy church; and then advancing to Northampton, inveſted the caſtle, which, however, they could not reduce, for want of military engines.

From thence they proceeded to Bedford Caſtle, into which they were readily admitted by William Beauchamp the governour. There they received expreſſes from their friends at London, by which they learned, that, if they would advance with expedition, they might make themſelves maſters of the capital without oppoſition. *

In

ment on his prerogative; the barons then take up arms againſt him as an apoſtate; and an enemy to the pope. After, when he was reconciled to the pope, and protected from any domeſtic peril by the vow of pilgrimage, he is then oppoſed by them as a ſervile wretch; and, notwithſtanding his papal protection, the war againſt him is termed the war of GOD, and the commander employed againſt him is dignified with the title of marſhal or conſtable of the army of GOD and holy church!

* The cauſes of this civil war, and the motions of the confederates are delivered with a pleaſing brevity, by the writer of the annals of Waverly: and as the book itſelf begins now to be ſcarce, the learned reader will not take it amiſs that we ſave him the trouble of hunting after, or even conſulting the original, by tranſcribing that narrative. "Hoc anno "magna orta eſt diſcordia inter regem Angliæ et "barones: his exigentibus ab eo leges ſancti Ed- "wardi, et aliorum ſubſequentium regum libertates "et liberas conſuetudines. Nam tempore patris ſui,

"et

In consequence of this intelligence, they proceeded directly to Ware, and, continuing their march all night, arrived at London early on Sunday morning. The gates being open, they entered by Aldgate, and immediately took possession of the city, while the greatest part of the inhabitants were employed at their devotions. Having planted guards in proper places, and secured the persons of such as they suspected, they wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen, who still seemed to adhere to the king, inviting them to join in the confederacy for their common liberties; and, threatening, in case of refusal, * to destroy their castles and

" et maxime suo tempore, corruptæ nimis et aggra-
" vatæ fuerant, nam quosdam absque judicio parium
" suorum exhæredebat, nonnullos morte durissima con-
" demnabat. Uxores filiasque eorum violabat, et ita
" pro lege ei erat tyrannica voluntas. Illoque ne-
" gante, et obstinate illis resistente confœderata est
" multitudo procerum, et in brevi regio universa
" commota. Congregatusque est exercitus valde de-
" corus apud civitatem Londinensem, eamque ca-
" piunt xvi Kal. Julii." *Annal. Waverl.* ad ann. 1215, p. 181.

* Matth. Paris's description of this transaction shows the violence of their proceedings, their intoxication at the increase of their power, and their confidence of success; but is best delivered in his own

ravage their eſtates. Theſe letters had the deſired effect; moſt of the barons, who had hitherto ſeemed to favour the royal cauſe, repaired directly to * London, and heartily engaged in the aſſociation.

John

own words. "Miſerunt litteras ad comites, barones, "et milites illos, qui adhuc per Angliam regi, licet "ficte, adhærere videbantur exhortantes eos cum "comminatione, ut ſicut omnium rerum ſuarum ita "et poſſeſſionum indemnitatem diligebant, regem per-"jurum deſerentes, et ſibi fideliter adhærentes, ſimul "cum eis pro libertate et pace regi immobiles ſta-"rent, et efficaciter decertarent. Quod, ſi hoc facere "contempſiſſent, *ipſi in omnes illos, quaſi in hoſtes* "*publices, arma dirigerent et vexilla caſtraque eorum* "*ſubvertere, domos et ædificia comburere, vivaria par-*"*cas et pomeria deſtruere non omitterent.*" *Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl.* p. 214. Had this menace proceeded from John, we ſhould have found our authour immediately catching the alarm, and exclaiming againſt it as a tyrannical exertion of power: but as it was denounced by the barons, all was right, and not even the ſhadow of a ſcruple is admitted againſt it.

* The names of theſe pretended friends to the king, who had not taken the oath, or confederated with the other barons before they received their menace, were, William Marſhal earl of Pembroke, Ranulph earl of Cheſter, William earl of Saliſhury, William earl of Warren, William earl of Albemarle, H. earl of Cornwal, William de Albiney, Robert de Vipont, Peter Fitz-herbert, Brien de Liſle, G. de Luci, G. de Furnival, Thomas Baſſet, Henry de Braiback, John de Baſſingborn, or Baſſingebrane, William de Cantelu or Cantelupe, Henry de Cornhulle, John Fitz-hugh, Hugh de Neville; Philip de Albiney,

* John had formerly made an offer to the barons to aboliſh the evil cuſtoms that had been introduced in his reign, or in that of his brother Richard, and to redreſs their grievances by the advice of his council; but this propoſal fell infi-

 nitely

ney, John Marſhal and William Bruwer, or Briwer. *Matth. Paris*, p. 215. From hence we may perceive both the truth and the errour of Grafton's relation; who informs that "yet were there of the lords and "gentlemen a great number at that time that fol-"lowed the king, and allowed his doyngs." *Grafton's Chronic.* p. iii. Paris informs us of an artifice of the king's in this extremity, which, if true, ſhows him to be a tyrant complete, but if falſe, ſhould be branded as the moſt flagrant calumny that ever dropped from the pen of an hiſtorian. According to our authour, he counterfeited the ſeals of all the biſhops, and wrote in their names to every court in Chriſtendom, accuſing the Engliſh as guilty of apoſtacy, inviting them to take up arms againſt them, and aſſuring them not only of the pope's approbation, and the Engliſh monarch's aſſent, but likewiſe promiſing them their eſtates, as a reward. Paris's words are; "Tem-"poribus ſub eiſdem, rex occultum odium verſus ba-"rones, facie pallians ſub ſerena, et ultionis excogi-"tans, fecit adulterari, id eſt vulgariter contra facere, "omnia ſigilla epiſcoporum, et ſcripſit, vice eorum, "omnibus nationibus, quod Anglici omnes erant a-"poſtatæ, toti mundo deteſtabiles: et quicunque vel-"let eos quaſi apoſtatas hoſtiliter impetere, rex eorum, "et papæ aſſenſu et authoritate, conferret eis terras "et omnes eorum poſſeſſiones." *Matt. Paris*, p. 214.

* *Rymer*, p. 202—204.

nitely ſhort of their demands; and accordingly was rejected. Upon their proceeding to actual hoſtilities, he had applied to Langton and his ſuffragans, deſiring them to afford him the protection which every prince veſted with the character of a pilgrim ought to enjoy, by excommunicating thoſe who had taken arms againſt him. Pandulf, and the biſhop of Exeter, concurred in making the ſame requeſt, which they thought extremely reaſonable; but Langton declared, he would not paſs any cenſure upon the barons, while John ſeemed to diſtruſt the fidelity of his own ſubjects, by ſending for a body of mercenary troops from the Continent; though, if he would diſmiſs thoſe foreigners, he would not only excommunicate the barons, but would even exert his utmoſt endeavours in oppoſing all their meaſures.

The archbiſhop, who was at the head of the confederacy, and was a man of great ability and addreſs, employed this artifice in order to deprive the king of all aſſiſtance from his allies. The ſcheme ſucceeded. John diſbanded a large body of Germans and Flemings, whom he had hitherto retained in his ſervice; and Langton having gained his end, refuſed to iſſue his cenſures againſt the barons.

John

John finding himſelf thus betrayed by his * pretended friends, and expoſed to the attacks of his declared enemies, began to think ſeriouſly of compromiſing all diſputes with his rebellious ſubjects. With this view, he offered to refer the deciſion of the matter to four noblemen choſen from each party, under the arbitration of the pope; and this propoſal being rejected, he ſubmitted at diſcretion, promiſing to grant them all their demands, and † conſenting to ſend commiſſioners to a conference to be held

* He was left at Odiham in Surrey, with no more than ſeven knights in his retinue; and after trying all the expedients mentioned in the text, to ward off the blow which threatened him, was obliged to comply with the demands of his ſeditious ſubjects. "Rex "autem Johannes cum ſe fere ab omnibus cerneret de-"relictum ita, quod vix ſibi ſeptem equites ex omni "multitudine regia ſupereſſet; timuit valde ne ba-"rones in caſtra ſua impetum facientes, illa, ſine dif-"ficultate, ſibi ſubjugarent, cum præcipue nullum "obſtaculum invenirent. Cepit autem adverſus baro-"nes in corde odium inexorabile. Simulavit autem in "dolo pacem, ad tempus, facere cum magnatibus "ſæpe dictis; ut cum fortior ſurrexiſſet, in diſſipata "agmina acrius ſe vendicaret." *Matth. Paris.* p. 214.

† The arbitrary, imperious, and inſolent manner in which the barons treated this weak, or rather unfortunate prince, may eaſily be collected from the original of M. Paris. "Ipſi immenſo gaudio recreati, *ſtatue-*"*runt* regi diem, ut *veniret* contra eos ad colloquium "in pratum inter Stanes et Windleſhores ſitum, de-"cimo quinto die Junii." *M. Paris.* p. 214.

held for that purpoſe on * Runnemede, between Stains and Windſor.

On the fifteenth of June the barons appeared at the place appointed, with a great number of knights and warriors; and after a conference of a few † days, the ‡ deputies adjuſted the articles of the two famous char-

* This place ſeems to have derived its name from this celebrated treaty; *runne*, in Saxon, ſignifying council, agreeable to Matt. Weſtm. who terms it council-ead, "pratum concilii."

† *i. e.* Nine days; namely, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth.

‡ The deputies or commiſſioners employed on this occaſion by John, were moſt of them in the intereſts of the oppoſite party, as appears from Paris's own words, and the following liſt. They were the prelates of Canterbury, Dublin, London, Wincheſter, Lincoln, Bath, Worceſter, Coventry, and Rocheſter; Pandulph the pope's nuncio, and biſhop elect of Norwich; Amaury, prior of the templars in England; the earls of Pembroke, Saliſbury, Warrenne, and Arundel; Allan de Gallaway, William Fitz-gerald, Peter and Matthew Fitz-herbert, Thomas and Allan Baſſet, Hugh de Neville, Hubert de Burg ſeneſchal of Poitou, Robert de Ropeley, John Mareſchal, and Philip de Albiney. Among theſe commiſſioners, we may recollect that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was the authour and chief ſpring of the confederacy; and the earls of Pembroke, Saliſbury, and Warrene, Peter Fitz-herbert, Thomas Baſſet, Hugh de Neville, John Mareſchal, and Philip de Albiney, joined the conſpirators in conſequence of their circular letters. So that Paris might well preface his liſt with the following remarkable words. "Fuerunt autem *quaſi* ex parte regis." *M. Paris.*

charters, intitled * Magna Charta, and the Charta de Foreſta, which are the foundation of the Engliſh conſtitution, or rather the confirmation and extenſion of thoſe rights and privileges, which the people enjoyed under the Saxon kings.

The Magna Charta confirmed the charter which had lately been granted to the clergy, concerning the freedom of elections to ſees, abbies, † deaneries, and other eccle-

Paris, p. 214. Our authour ſays that the perſons who appeared in behalf of the barons were ſo numerous, that it would be ſuperfluous to produce their names, ſince all the nobility might be included under that predicament. *Idem.* p. 215.

* The authour intends to preſent the reader with a correct copy of this famous charter in a more convenient place; where it will not interrupt the thread of the hiſtory: but ſhall ſupport his general account of it, with extracts tranſcribed from the original. Previous to his ſigning this charter, John tried every artifice to detach ſome of the barons from the aſſociation, and even in his compliance had inſidious views, if we may believe Polydore Vergil. "Statim rex accedit, ſays our authour, ac modo hunc, modo illum "placide, amice, honorifice appellando, poſtulata ultro concedit, et ut faciat quo confidant, permittit "aliquot eligi viros graves, qui, quod conceſſerat, "rite ſervandum curent. Hoc *inſidioſo* beneficio Joannes mirum in modum omnium ſibi animos devinxit, effecitque, ut crederent ipſum omnia liberalitatis, non metus, cauſa conceſſiſſe." *Polyd. Vergil.* lib. xv. p. 279.

† The words in the original are, "Quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, et habeat jura ſua integra "ſuas

ecclesiastical dignities, without the nomination or recommendation of any particular person by the crown: it allowed all * persons to leave the kingdom, or return to it without a special licence, except in time of war: ordained † that no clergyman should

" suas et libertates illæsas, et ita volumus observari, " quod apparet ex eo, quod *libertatem electionum*, quæ " maxima et magis necessaria reputatur ecclesiæ An- " glicanæ, mera et spontanea voluntate, ante discor- " diam inter nos et barones nostros manifesto motam " concessimus, et charta nostra confirmavimus, et eam " obtinuimus a domino papa Innocentio papa tertio " confirmari, &c."

* This privilege or licence is couched in general terms, and is applicable to the laity as well as the clergy. The original will confirm this: " Liceat " *unicuique* de cætero, exire de regno nostro, et redire " salvo et secure per terram et per aquam, salva fide " nostra; nisi in tempore Guerræ, per aliquod breve " tempus, propter communem utilitatem regni, ex- " ceptis imprisonatis et utlagatis, secundum legem " regni, et gente contra nos guerrina, et mercatori- " bus, de quibus fiat sicut supra dictum." This article, as Brady and Hume observe, removed all restraints upon the appeals of the clergy to the church of Rome, which John had by a previous law prohibited.

† " Nulla ecclesiastica persona amercietur secun- " dum quantitatem beneficii sui, sed secundum laicum " tenementum suum, et secundum quantitatem delicti " sui." Brady and Carte observe, that by this article the clergy acquired a new immunity in case of offences where the punishment was only pecuniary, because they seldom had any lay estate; and as they were to

be

ſhould be amerced in proportion to the value of his benefice, but only according to his lay tenement: and ſecured to * the lay nobility the cuſtody of vacant abbies and convents, which were under their patronage. It aſcertained the † reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights fees, which before were arbitrary: decreed that barons ſhould recover the lands of their vaſſals which had been forfeited for felony, after the crown (according to ancient cuſtom) ſhould have received the rents of them for a year and a day; that they ſhould enjoy

be puniſhed only in proportion to the value of that, this article gave them, in effect, a licence for perpetrating all crimes of this nature.

* "Omnes patroni abatiarum," or, according to the manuſcript copy in Corpus Chriſti college Cambridge, "Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abathias, qui habent chartas regum Angliæ, de advocatione, vel per aliquam antiquam tenuram vel poſſeſſionem habeant earum cuſtodiam cum vacaverint; ſicut habere debeant, et ſicut ſupra declaratum eſt."

† "Si quis comitum vel baronum noſtrorum ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite, per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, et cum deceſſerit, hæres ſuus plenæ ætatis fuerit, et relevium debeat: habeat hæreditem ſuam per antiquam relevium; ſcilicet hæres vel hæredes comitis de baronia comitis integra per *centum libras*; hæres vel hæredes baronis de baronia integra *centum marcas*; hæres vel hæredes militis de feuda militis integro, per *centum ſolidos*, ad plus: et qui minus debuerit minus det, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem feudorum."

enjoy the wardſhips of their military tenants, who held other lands of the crown by a different tenure, ſuch as ſocage, fee-farm, burgage, or the like: that a perſon knighted by the king, though a minor, ſhould enjoy the privileges of a full grown man, provided he was a ward of the crown; but if the ward of a baron, ſuch knighthood ſhould not deprive that baron of the benefit of his wardſhip; that though widows could not diſpoſe of themſelves without their lord's conſent, they ſhould not be forced to marry againſt their inclinations *, or pay any fine † for their dower; that the wardſhips

* "Nulla vidua deſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum "voluerit vivere ſine marito; ita tamen quod ſecu- "ritatem faciet; quod ſe non maritabit ſine aſſenſu "noſtro, ſi de nobis tenuerit, vel ſine aſſenſu domini "ſui, de quo tenuerit, ſi de alio tenuerit."

† "Vidua poſt mortem mariti ſui, ſtatim et ſine "difficultate aliqua habeat maritagium ſuum, et hæ- "reditationem ſuam; *nec aliquid det pro dote ſua* vel "pro maritagio ſuo, vel hæreditate ſua, quam hære- "ditatem maritus ſuus et ipſa tenerunt, die obitus "ipſius mariti. Et maneat in capitali meſuagio ma- "riti ſui per quadraginta dies, poſt obitum ipſius "mariti, infra quos aſſignetur ei dos ſua, niſi ei "prius fuerit aſſignata, vel niſi domus illa fuerit "caſtrum, et ſi de caſtro receſſerit, ſtatim proſidea- "tur ei domus competens, in qua poſſit honeſte mo- "rari, quouſque ei dos ſua aſſignetur, ſecundum quod "prædictum eſt, et habeat ESTOVERIUM ſuum inte- "rim de communi. Aſſignetur autem ei pro dote ſua, "tertia pars totius terræ mariti ſui, quæ ſua fuit in "vitâ;

wardſhips * of minors ſhould not be ſold; that guardians ſhould not take † unreaſonable profits from the lands of their wards, or commit waſte, but keep the houſes in good repair, leave the farms well ſtocked, and diſpoſe of their ‡ wards in marriage without diſparagement, after

" vita; niſi de minori dotata fuerit ad oſtium ec-
" cleſiæ."

* " Cuſtos autem quamdiu cuſtodiam terræ habu-
" erit, *ſuſtentet domos*, parcos, vivaria, ſtagna, mo-
" lendina, et cætera ad illam terram pertinentia, de
" exitibus terræ ejuſdem. Et reddat hæredi, cum ad
" plenam ætatem pervenerit, terram ſuam totam, in-
" ſtauratam de carrucis et omnibus aliis rebus, ad
" minus ſecundum quod illa recepit. Hæc omnia ob-
" ſerventur de cuſtodiis archiepiſcopatuum, epiſcopa-
" tuum, abbatiarum, prioratum, eccleſiarum, et dig-
" nitatum vacantium quæ ad nos pertinent, excepto
" quod cuſtodiæ hujuſmodi *vendi non debent*."

† " Cuſtos terræ hujuſmodi hæredis, qui infra æta-
" tem fuerit, non capiat de terra hæredis, niſi *ratio-*
" *nabiles* exitus, *rationabiles conſuetudines et rationa-*
" *bilia ſervitia*: et *hæc ſine deſtructione et vaſto* ho-
" minum vel rerum. Et ſi nos commiſerimus cuſto-
" diam alicui terræ vicecomiti et alicui alii, qui de
" exitibus terræ illius nobis debent reſpondere, et ille
" deſtructionem de cuſtodia fecerit vel vaſtum, nos ab
" illo capiemus emendam, et terra committatur duo-
" bus legalibus et diſcretis hominibus de feudo illo,
" qui ſimiliter nobis reſpondeant, ſicut prædictum eſt."

‡ " Hæredes maritentur ſine diſparagatione: ita
" tamen, quod, antequam contrahatur matrimonium,
" oſtendatur propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius hæ-
" redis."

having acquainted their neareſt relation; that no aid * or ſcutage ſhould be levied in the kingdom without the conſent of the common council of the nation, except in the three caſes of ranſoming the king's perſon, knighting his eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter.

This charter likewiſe ſtipulates, that no freeman ſhould be † taken, ‡ impriſoned, or

* "Nullum ſcutagium vel auxilium ponam in regno noſtro, niſi per commune conſilium regni noſtri, niſi ad corpus noſtrum redimendum, et ad primogenitum filium noſtrum militem faciendum, et ad primogenitam noſtram filiam ſemel maritandam. Et ad hoc non fiet niſi rationabile conſilium."

† "Nos vero vel ballivi noſtri non ſeiſiemus terram aliquam, nec reditum pro debito aliquo, quamdiu catella debitoris præſentia ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum; et ipſe debitor paratus ſit inde ſatisfacere. Nec plegii ipſius debitoris deſtringantur quamdiu ipſe capitalis debitor ſufficiat ad ſolutionem debiti— Et ſi capitalis debitor defecerit in ſolutione debiti, non habens unde reddat, aut reddere nolit, cum poſſit, plegii reſpondeant de debito: et ſi voluerint habeant terras et redditus debitoris, quouſque ſit ei ſatisfactum de debito, quod ante pro eo ſolvitur; niſi capitalis debitor monſtraverit ſe inde eſſe quietum verſus eoſdem plegios."

‡ "Nullus liber homo *capiatur* vel *impriſonetur* aut diſſeiſietur de aliquo libero tenemento ſuo, vel libertatibus vel liberis conſuetudinibus ſuis, aut utlagetur aut exulet, aut aliquo modo deſtituatur; nec ſupra eum ibimus, nec eum in carcere mittemus, niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per legem terræ."

or diſſeized of his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal proceſs; that ſheriffs ſhould not hold county-courts above once a month; that * they, as well as caſtellans, coroners, and the king's bailiffs ſhould not be allowed to hold pleas of the crown: † that the ſheriffs, who had the management of the crown-revenue, within their ſeveral diſtricts, ſhould not raiſe the farms of counties, hundreds, and tythes, according to their pleaſure, except in the king's demeſne manors; that the people ſhould not be unjuſtly proſecuted, and put to canonical purgations, without legal proof, in regard to carriages, purveyance of ‡ victuals, and other ſervices; and that ‖ a-

 merciaments

* "Nullus vice-comes, conſtabularius, coronator, "vel alii ballivi noſtri teneant placita coronæ noſtræ."

† "Omnis comitatus et hundredi et wapentag et "thretingi ſint ad antiquas firmas abſque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis noſtris."

‡ "Nullus ballivus ponat aliquem de cætero ad legem nec ad juramentum ſimplici loquela ſua; ſine "teſtibus fidelibus ad hoc inductis."

‖ "Liber homo non amercietur pro parva delicto, "niſi ſecundum modum ipſius delicti, et pro magno "delicto ſecundum magnitudinem delicti, ſalvo contenemento. Et mercator eodem mado, ſalva marchandiſa ſua. Et villanus alterius quam noſter eodem modo amercietur, ſalvo wannagio ſuo, ſi inciderit in "meri-

merciaments ſhould be proportioned to the offence and the circumſtances of the offender,

" miſericordiam noſtram. Et nulla prædictarum mi-
" ſericordiarum ponatur, niſi per ſacramentum pro-
" borum et legalium hominum de viſneto comitatus."
Theſe are by no means half the articles compriſed in this celebrated charter, but from what we have mentioned, we may be enabled to gueſs at the import of the reſt. Hume's reflections on this ſubject, tho' not entirely his own, may perhaps afford the reader ſome entertainment, after ſuch a profuſion of Latin as he has been forced to ſtruggle through in the precedent notes. " Had the charter, ſays our authour,
" contained nothing but thoſe articles, which were
" peculiarly calculated for the intereſt of the barons,
" national happineſs and liberty had been very little
" promoted by it, as it would only have tended
" to encreaſe the power and independance of an
" order of men, who were already too powerful,
" and whoſe yoke might have become more heavy on
" the people than that of an abſolute monarch. But
" the barons, who alone drew and *impoſed on* the
" prince this memorable charter, were neceſſitated to
" *inſert in* it other clauſes of a more extenſive and
" more beneficent nature: they could not expect the
" concurrence of the people, without comprehend-
" ing, together with their own, the intereſts of in-
" ferior ranks of men; and all proviſions, which
" the barons, for their own ſakes, were obliged to
" make, in order to inſure the free and equitable ad-
" miniſtration of juſtice, tended directly to the
" benefit of the whole community.—It muſt be con-
" feſſed, that the former articles of the great charter,
" contain ſuch mitigations and explanations of the
" feudal law, as are very reaſonable and equitable,
" and that the latter *involve* all the *chief outlines of a*
" legal

fender, ſo as not to affect his landed eſtate, or diſable him from following his buſineſs;

" legal government, and provide for the equal diſtri-
" bution of juſtice, and free enjoyment of property; the
" great objects for which political ſociety was at firſt
" founded by man, which the people have a perpetual
" and unalienable right to recal, and which no time,
" nor precedent, nor ſtatute, nor poſitive inſtitution,
" ought to *deter* them from keeping ever uppermoſt in
" their thoughts and attention. Though the provi-
" ſions made by this charter might, conformable to
" the genius of the age, be eſteemed too conciſe, and
" too bare of circumſtances, to *maintain* the execu-
" tion of its articles, in oppoſition to the chicanery
" of lawyers, ſupported by the violence of power:
" time gradually aſcertained the ſenſe of all the am-
" biguous expreſſions, and thoſe generous barons, who
" firſt extorted this conceſſion, ſtill held their ſwords
" in their hands, and could turn them againſt thoſe
" who dared, on any pretence, to depart from the
" original ſpirit and meaning of the grant. It is
" now eaſy, from the tenour of this charter, to de-
" termine what thoſe laws were of king Edward,
" which the Engliſh nation, during ſo many genera-
" tions, ſtill deſired, with ſuch an obſtinate perſeve-
" rance, to have *recalled* and eſtabliſhed. They
" were theſe latter articles of *Magna Charta*, and the
" barons, who at the beginning of theſe commotions,
" required the revival of the Saxon laws; undoubted-
" ly thought, that they had ſufficiently ſatisfied the
" people, by procuring them this conceſſion, which
" comprehended the chief objects to which they had
" ſo long aſpired. But what we are moſt to *admire*,
" is the *prudence* and *moderation* of theſe *haughty*
" nobles themſelves, who were *enraged* by injuries,

" *inflamed*

but be rated by the verdict of twelve creditable men in the neighbourhood.

The

" *enflamed* by oppoſition, and *elated* by a total victory " over their ſovereign. They were contented, even in " this plenitude of power, to *depart from* ſome ar- " ticles of Henry I's charter, which they made the " foundation of their demands, particularly from the " abolition of wardſhips, ſo important a point! and " they ſeem to have been ſufficiently careful not to " diminiſh, too far, the power and revenue of the " crown. If they appear, therefore, *to have* carried " other demands to *too great a height*, it can be " aſcribed only to the faithleſs and tyrannical temper " of the king himſelf, of which they had long had " experience, and which they foreſaw would, if they " provided no farther ſecurity, lead him to infringe " their liberties, and recal his own conceſſions. This " *alone* gave birth to thoſe other articles, *ſeemingly* " *exorbitant*, which were added as a rampart for the " ſafeguard of the great charter." *Hume's Hiſt. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 389. The reader may perceive that this author is hard put to it to vindicate his treatment of this monarch's character; and though he ſtruggles hard to ſuppreſs the truth, ſometimes quitting his hold, he lets it appear with darkneſs almoſt palpable. The behaviour of the barons was to be juſtified, right or wrong; and the charter itſelf to be vindicated, however erroneous. If the expreſſions were blameable, " for being too conciſe and too bare of cir- " cumſtances, to maintain the execution of its articles," our authour gets rid of this objection by a remarkable reply, which ſhows at once his *good ſenſe* and his *loyalty*. " Time was *gradually* to *aſcertain* the ſenſe " of all the ambiguous expreſſions, and the ſwords of " the barons were to be turned againſt thoſe who de- " parted from the original ſpirit and meaning of the " grant."

The Charta de Foresta was intended to prevent the extortion of foresters; to allow free-

"grant." The conduct of the king is, throughout this authour's history, sacrificed to censure; when he enacts any thing for the public welfare, it is ascribed to the prudence of the barons; when he is obliged, by the distresses in which they involved him, to submit to terms inconsistent with his dignity, he ascribes it all to his personal weakness and indolence. When the barons are termed, as in the extract last transcribed, *haughty*, and represented as "enraged by injuries, enflamed by opposition, and elated by a total "victory over their sovereign," we are called upon by this authour to admire their *prudence* and *moderation*. Every deviation from the dignity of his character, every token of submission extorted from John, is represented as a mark of the baseness of his mind, and the abject servility of his disposition: but "the departure of the barons from some articles in Henry I's "charter, though the foundation of all their demands," is cried up as a sign of their tenderness for the power of the crown. Nay, our authour having forgotten what he had asserted of the *moderation* of these *haughty nobles*, allows their having "carried their demands to too "great a height;" but being apprehensive that this concession flatly contradicts what he had alleged in their defence, endeavours to resist the tide which was now turned against him, and brings his beloved barons, and himself off, by saying, that the exorbitance of "their demands can be ascribed *only* to the faithless "and tyrannical character of the king." However, we would not be understood as exculpating the character of this monarch, which has suffered very severely from monkish historians in the early parts of our history, and been as barbarously treated by the indiscriminate historians of modern days. He had so many

free-holders to improve their lands and woods within the bounds of the foreſt; to diſforeſt all lands taken in ſince the coronation of Henry I. except what belonged to the crown demeſnes; to regulate the foreſt-courts; to exempt thoſe who lived without the limits of the foreſts, from the obligation of attending thoſe courts, except when ſummoned to them to anſwer for ſome trangreſſion; to reverſe all outlawries for ſuch tranſgreſſions; and to convert the penalty for killing veniſon, from a capital puniſhment to a fine, or, in caſe of inſolvency, to a year's impriſonment.

The barons were too wiſe to leave their work unfiniſhed. They knew the king's character too well to think that he would ever agree to the performance of theſe articles, unleſs compelled by neceſſity; and this reſtraint, therefore, they now reſolved to lay him under.

They

many vices that charity itſelf makes us wiſh he had ſome virtues to compenſate for their deformity, and when we find ſome of theſe ſhining qualities interſperſed in the glooms of his life, as good-natured men, as conſcious of the dignity of our nature, we cannot help aſcribing them to the perſon in whoſe conduct they appear, from a firm perſuaſion that how much ſoever human nature may be debaſed by vice, it will always retain ſome traces by which we diſcover its native dignity.

They inſiſted upon his conſent to their chuſing five and twenty of their number, to ſee the charters carried into execution. If any article of the charters ſhould be broken by him or his juſticiary, four of thoſe conſervators were empowered to demand reparation; and if this ſhould not be given within forty days, they were then to inform the reſt, who, with the community of the nation, might ſeize his lands, caſtles, and poſſeſſions, until ſatisfaction ſhould be made, ſaving, however, the perſons of himſelf, his wife, and children. All perſons might ſwear to aſſiſt them in theſe compulſatory meaſures, and obey the orders of the five and twenty barons, or the major part of their number.

John himſelf iſſued writs, commanding all his ſheriffs, officers, and others, to aſſiſt them on theſe occaſions, on pain of ſeeing their eſtates ſeized, and all their chattels ſold within a fortnight after refuſal, for the relief of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine.

It was likewiſe determined, that twelve knights ſhould be choſen in every ſhire at the next county-court, to enquire into evil cuſtoms, and detect the corrupt practices of ſheriffs, foreſters, and other officers, that they might be aboliſhed according to the intent of the charters, to the ſtrict and faithful

ful obſervance of which, John and the barons bound themſelves by oath.

As a further ſecurity, the governours of the caſtles of Northampton, Kenilworth, Nottingham, and Scarborough, were ordered to take an oath of obedience to the twenty-five conſervators; and it was agreed that the barons ſhould keep poſſeſſion of London, and archbiſhop Langton have the cuſtody of the Tower, till the fifteenth of Auguſt; before which time, the king promiſed that all things ſhould be reſtored to the barons, according to the orders of the commiſſioners; in which caſe, they were to revert to his majeſty.

Theſe articles being ratified and confirmed, ſeveral of the nobility applied to John for the reſtitution of lands, and the cuſtody of caſtles, which, they alleged, belonged to them by hereditary right; but he refuſed to grant their requeſts, until he ſhould have examined the juſtice of their claims. In the mean time, however, he delivered to Langton the caſtle of Rocheſter, which had always belonged to the ſee of Canterbury.

He likewiſe iſſued orders for keeping the peace, and obſerving the charters, over all England; he publiſhed a general amneſty for all crimes and tranſgreſſions committed from the foregoing Eaſter to the concluſion of

of the treaty; and he received a new oath of allegiance from the barons, who had renounced their fealty at the beginning of the revolt; but when he desired them to give a certificate of this homage under their hands and seals, they absolutely refused to comply with his request; a circumstance which could not fail to fill him with jealousy and suspicion.

The barons, having taken every possible precaution for securing the execution of the treaty, returned to London; and, elated with joy at their great success, which even exceeded their most sanguine expectations, they appointed a tournament to be held at Stamford, on the sixth of July.

Whether Robert Fitz-walter suspected a plot for delivering London to John, or whether he was only apprehensive that the absence of the nobility might tempt some of the citizens to form and execute such a project, he wrote to William de Albiney, representing to him the folly of leaving a place of so much consequence in a defenceless state, and advising him to transfer the scene of the tournament to Hounslow-heath, by which means their troops would be at hand to protect the city, in case any attempt should be made upon it by the enemy.

This

This precaution was the more neceſſary, as John, inſtead of performing the articles of the treaty, was employing every art to recover the power he had loſt, and to ſhake off the diſgraceful fetters with which he had been ſhackled.

Immediately after the conference, he retired to the iſle of Wight, where he lived in a recluſe manner, and, with the few friends that ſtill adhered to him, concerted the proper meaſures for retrieving his ruined affairs. As he had no hopes of raiſing an army in England, he ſent ſome of his confidents to France, Germany, and the Low Countries, to enliſt volunteers in his ſervice; and, unable as he was to furniſh them with preſent pay, he empowered his deputies to make them authentic grants of the Engliſh eſtates, upon the preſumption of conquering the barons, and dividing their poſſeſſions.

At the ſame time he diſpatched agents to the pope, with copies of the two charters, which he repreſented as inſolent encroachments upon the right of his holineſs, as lord paramount of the kingdom, and begged he might be abſolved from the oath he had taken to obſerve them.

Innocent eſpouſed his cauſe with the greater warmth, as he knew that his ſuperiority over England was extremely ill founded,

founded, and therefore required to be ſupported with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution.

He loudly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of the barons, who had preſumed to extort ſuch conceſſions from a vaſſal of the church of Rome: he annulled the charters, releaſed the king from his oath, wrote letters to the barons, commanding them to return to their duty and allegiance; and, in caſe of refuſal, iſſued a ſentence of excommunication againſt them, enjoining cardinal Langton to ſee it carried into execution.

But with this injunction Langton refuſed to comply; alledging, that the pope had been miſinformed, and that he would go to Rome in perſon, and lay an impartial account of the whole matter before his holineſs.

This expedient, however, did not anſwer his purpoſe; for Pandulf, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, the pope's commiſſaries, publiſhed the bull, and ſuſpended the archbiſhop, according to ſome private inſtructions which they had previouſly received. But as this cenſure was general, and did not include any particular perſon by name, it was utterly diſregarded.

Langton met with ſuch a reception at the court of Rome, as might naturally be ex-

pected: far from being able to juſtify his conduct to the pope's ſatisfaction, he was convicted of holding intelligence with the barons, and encouraging them in their rebellious proceedings; his brother Simon's election to the ſee of York was vacated; and the deputies of the chapter were enjoined to elect Walter de Grey biſhop of Worceſter, who was accordingly choſen, confirmed, and received the pall, upon giving ſecurity for the payment of ten thouſand pounds ſterling.

The ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop was publiſhed in the beginning of December, in the abbey of St. Albans, and thence notified to all the cathedrals and conventual churches in England: a bull of excommunication was likewiſe iſſued againſt the chief of the rebellious barons, by name; and all their lands, together with the city of London, were laid under an interdict.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that John did not want a plauſible pretext for the violent meaſures he had lately taken. Tho' the majority of the barons, who were only intent upon ſecuring their liberties, had retired to their habitations, and patiently waited for the execution of the treaty, yet ſome of their members, who were of a more factious and turbulent diſpoſition, and

and were probably diſſatisfied with the articles of agreement, behaved in a very unwarrantable and unjuſtifiable manner. Inſtead of repairing peaceably to their own homes, they plundered the countries thro' which they paſſed; maltreated the ſheriffs and other officers employed in collecting the revenue; burned the king's houſes, deſtroyed his park walls, and committed ſuch terrible outrages, as ſeemed to threaten the nation with a general renewal of hoſtilities.

In order to prevent the flames of war from being kindled afreſh, and to make reparation to the king for the loſſes he had ſuſtained, the biſhops propoſed a meeting with him at Oxford. The barons appeared at the place appointed with a vaſt train of followers; but John contented himſelf with ſending deputies to complain of the injuries he had received, and excuſe his not coming in perſon, as he did not think it conſiſtent with his ſafety.

They afterwards met at Staines for the ſame ſalutary purpoſe; but the king having, by this time, obtained a ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons, and being furniſhed with a ſtrong body of Germans, Brabantins and Flemings, who

had lately arrived from the Continent, * he would liſten to no terms of accommodation, and immediately took the field againſt his enemies.

His firſt ſtep was to beſiege the caſtle of Rocheſter, which the barons attempted in vain to relieve; the bridges were broken down, and all the paſſes were ſo occupied by the enemy, that they were obliged to return to London. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the governour, William d'Albiney, made a brave defence for the ſpace of two months, during which the garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremities, that they ate all the horſes in the caſtle; but, at laſt, the walls being demoliſhed by the military engines of the beſiegers, and no hopes of relief appearing, he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

John was ſo provoked at the length of the ſiege, and the number of men he had loſt before the place, that he threatened to put all the garriſon to death without exception. From this cruel purpoſe, however, he was happily diverted by the remonſtrances

* M. Paris ſays, that Hugh de Boves, one of the king's commiſſioners, enliſted no leſs than forty thouſand men, with whom he embarked at Calais; but being overtaken by a ſtorm, the whole fleet was deſtroyed, and every individual periſhed. What degree of credit is due to this ſtory we leave to the determination of every impartial reader.

ſtrances of Savary de Mauleon, who repreſented to him the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a precedent; adding, that ſhould any of his barons fall into the hands of the enemy, they would not fail to make a retaliation, by which means a practice would be introduced not leſs prejudicial to his majeſty's intereſt, than repugnant to the dictates of humanity.

In conſequence of this advice he ſent William d'Albiney, and the other priſoners of quality, to different caſtles; but cauſed all the common ſoldiers, except the croſs-bow men, to be hanged, as a warning to others.

This loſs, together with the pope's ſecond bull of excommunication, which arrived about the ſame time, gave ſuch a terrible blow to the confederacy, that it was deſerted by ſome of its principal members, particularly by Gilbert Rainfroy, and the conſtable of Cheſter, who returned to the king's ſervice.

John's affairs were now in ſuch a flouriſhing condition, that he formed two powerful armies, with one of which he marched to the northwards, leaving the other under the command of the earl of Saliſbury, and Falcaſius de Breant, who, after reducing the caſtles of Bedford, Hunſlape,

and Tunbridge, and furniſhing thoſe of Windſor, Berkamſtede and Hertford with ſtrong garriſons, to check the excurſions of the Londoners, advanced into Eſſex, where they took the caſtles, deſtroyed the houſes, and waſted the lands of the revolted barons.

John proceeded in the ſame barbarous manner till he arrived at Nottingham, from whence he ſummoned the ſtrong caſtle of Belvoir to ſurrender, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to put the owner, William d'Albiney, whom he had in his cuſtody, to death; a menace, which had ſuch an effect upon the governour, that he delivered it up without capitulation.

One reaſon of John's undertaking this expedition, was to repel an invaſion which Alexander, king of Scotland, a youth of about eighteen years of age, had lately made into England, where, after having invaded the caſtle of Norham for a conſiderable time, he was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and return into his own country, without reaping any other advantage from this enterprize, than that of receiving the homage of the barons of Northumberland, who ſwore fealty to him at Felton.

The Brabantins committed ſuch horrible cruelties, and plundered the country with ſuch

ſuch barbarity, that the nobility of Yorkſhire, abandoning their eſtates, fled into Scotland, and did homage to the king of that country in the Chapter-houſe of Melroſs. * John purſued them in their retreat, after having pillaged their houſes, and committed the care of their caſtles to Robert de Viepont, Brien de Liſle, and Geoffrey de Lucy, with orders to complete the deſtruction he had already begun upon the fugitives. The barons of Northumberland, unable to oppoſe his progreſs, and dreading the effects of his reſentment, followed the example of thoſe of Yorkſhire, and fled into Scotland.

John, with a barbarity more worthy of an eaſtern tyrant, than an Engliſh king, cauſed all the ſeats, farms, villages and towns to be plundered and burned, till, at laſt, the whole country became one dreary, diſmal, and horrid waſte: Melford, Morpeth, Alnwick and Werk, were reduced to aſhes; and Roxburg, Berwick, Haddington, and Dunbar underwent the ſame fate, John himſelf beginning the inglorious work, and, like a true ruffian, ſetting fire, with his own hands, to every houſe in which he had lodged.

Having thus glutted his brutal revenge, and reduced all the caſtles of the northern

* A. D. 1216.

ern barons, except one in Yorkſhire belonging to Robert de Ros, and that of Montſorel in Leiceſterſhire, he committed the government of the whole country between the Tees and the Tweed, to Hugh de Baliol, and Philip de Halcote, with a good body of forces to preſerve the peace, and then marched with the reſt of his army to the borders of Wales, where he reduced a number of caſtles, ſome of which he diſmantled, and others he ſecured with ſtrong garriſons.

The affairs of the barons were now in a moſt deplorable condition. They had no place of ſtrength remaining, except London, and even of that they were in danger of being hourly deprived by the victorious forces of the king, who hovered round the ſkirts of the city, and watched every opportunity of making themſelves maſters of that important place. Affected with their preſent diſtreſs, which was certainly great, and alarmed at the proſpect of ſtill greater calamities, with which they were daily threatened, they took a reſolution, which, however neceſſary, had well nigh been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. They ſent Saher earl of Winton, and Robert Fitz-walter to Philip king of France, with an offer of the crown to his ſon Lewis,

provided

provided he would come over, and aſſiſt them in dethroning the tyrant.

Few arguments were neceſſary to perſuade Philip to a meaſure which flattered his ambition with the hopes of ſuch an acceſſion of power and territory. He embraced the propoſal of the barons with great alacrity; and having received twenty-five hoſtages as a ſecurity for the performance of articles, he began to make preparations for the enterprize.

In the mean time, as the Londoners were greatly hampered by the king's forces, he ſent a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, commanded by the Caſtellans of St. Omer and Arras, and Giles de Melun, who, after deſtroying a fleet of ſixty-five piratical veſſels that blocked up the river Thames, arrived ſafely at London. The citizens, ſtrengthened with this reinforcement, were now in a condition to bid defiance to the king, who deſpairing of ſucceſs in his attempts upon the capital, marched into Kent, with a view to ſecure the Cinque Ports in his intereſt, and oppoſe the landing of Lewis, whoſe arrival in the iſland was daily expected.

It is not to be imagined that the pope, who was always ready, and frequently unſolicited, to interfere in the affairs of other people, would ſit as an unconcerned ſpectator

tator amidſt theſe mighty preparations. He had no reaſon to expect the ſame conceſſions from Lewis, ſhould he ſucceed in his attempts upon England, as he had already received from John, whom he therefore reſolved to ſupport with all his influence. Accordingly, he diſpatched one Gualo, as his legate, to the French court, to prohibit Philip or his ſon from invading England, which was part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

But though Philip had admitted the validity of the pope's right when it favoured his views, he utterly rejected it, now that it thwarted his intereſt, and therefore proceeded in making preparations for the intended expedition. Theſe being fully compleated, Lewis embarked his troops, and ſetting ſail with a fleet of ſeven hundred veſſels, landed ſafely at Sandwich. John, unable to oppoſe the deſcent of the enemy, committed the caſtle of Dover to the care of Hubert de Burgh, and then retreated to Wincheſter. In this retreat he met Gualo, the pope's legate, who had juſt arrived from France, and who now excommunicated Lewis by name, together with all his adherents and abettors.

Lewis endeavoured to appeaſe the indignation of the legate, and avert the cenſures of the church, by trumping up a title to the

the crown of England, in right of his wife Blanche of Caſtile, who was grand-daughter to Henry II. but Gualo refuſing to admit the juſtice of his claim, he reſolved to ſet the pope at defiance, and immediately inveſted the caſtle of Rocheſter, which he ſoon reduced. From thence he proceeded to London, where he received the homage of the burghers and barons, after having taken an oath to maintain the people in the poſſeſſion of their rights and eſtates, and re-eſtabliſh the liberties of the nation.

The French hiſtorians pretend he was crowned; but this is a miſtake; for tho' he took upon him to diſpoſe of lands and honours, and advanced Simon Langton to the office of high chancellor, he never aſſumed any other title than that of Domini regis Franciæ primogenitus.

John now found the fatal effects of placing his chief confidence in his foreign mercenaries, who being generally vaſſals of the crown of France, abandoned his ſervice rather than fight againſt the ſon of their natural ſovereign; ſo that the king was unable to keep the field, and after having garriſoned his caſtles, was obliged to retire towards Briſtol and Glouceſter.

Lewis took care to avail himſelf of his adverſary's weakneſs; he detached William Fitz-

Fitz-piers, Robert Fitz-walter, and William de Huntingfield into Eſſex and Suffolk, the greateſt part of which they ſubdued, while he himſelf reduced all the caſtles in Suſſex; and then marched to Wincheſter, which he inveſted. The city was taken on the fourteenth of June, and in eleven days after, the king's and biſhop's caſtles ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Here he received the homage of Hugh de Neville who delivered up the caſtle of Marlborough, and in a ſhort time he became maſter of all the country as far as Corfe-caſtle in Dorſetſhire. Of this ſucceſs, however, he made but a very indifferent uſe; inſtead of reſtoring the Engliſh nobility to their honours and eſtates, he beſtowed the earldoms of Wilts and Suſſex upon the count de Nevers, a French nobleman, of a haughty and inſolent diſpoſition, who oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that he became the object of univerſal hatred and deteſtation.

This indeed was an honour to which the count had no title, as he was but a very faithleſs and deceitful ſervant; for when he had reduced the caſtle of Windſor to the utmoſt extremity, he ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by the governour, and abandoned the ſiege.

Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of Lewis's arms, he received ſome oppoſition from

from William de Collingham, who, with a thouſand archers, had taken ſhelter in the woods and foreſts; from whence he ſallied out upon the French, whom he defeated in ſeveral encounters; a practice which he continued to follow during the whole courſe of the war, acting always with ſuch caution and circumſpection, that all the attempts of the enemy to ſurprize or overpower him proved fruitleſs and abortive.

But whatever diſturbance this nobleman might give to Lewis, he could afford but little aſſiſtance to John, whoſe affairs were now in ſuch a deſperate ſituation, that he was deſerted by the earls of Warenne, Saliſbury, Arundel, Albemarle, and Oxford, who joined the adverſe party; and Lewis, elated with this addition of ſtrength, as well as with his other ſucceſſes, ſummoned a general council at London, to exact an oath of allegiance from all the prelates and nobility in England.

This ſummons was readily obeyed by all the barons and clergy who had joined in the aſſociation, as alſo by Alexander king of Scotland, who, according to the orders he had received, aſſembled a ſtrong body of forces, with which he reduced the city of Carliſle: from thence he repaired to London, where he did homage to Lewis, after that prince and the Engliſh barons had

taken an oath that they would not conclude a peace without his concurrence.

This run of ſucceſs, however, was interrupted by ſome unfavourable circumſtances. The northern barons had inveſted the city of York for a conſiderable time; but by the bravery of the garriſon, they were at laſt obliged to deſiſt from the attempt. They had afterwards the misfortune, in beſieging Barnard-caſtle in the biſhopric of Durham, to loſe Euſtace de Veſci, who was conſidered as the ſoul of the confederacy, and whoſe death was attended with the moſt fatal effects.

William Mareſchal, indeed, had prevailed upon the city of Worceſter, to declare in favour of Lewis; but it was ſoon after recovered to John, by that nobleman's own father, the earl of Pembroke, who, together with the earl of Cheſter, and Fulk de Breant, re-conquered and fortified the iſle of Ely.

The Cinque Ports having equipped a fleet for the king's ſervice, intercepted a large ſupply of men, arms, and proviſions, which was coming from France to the aſſiſtance of Lewis; and while they cut off all communication with London by ſea, Hubert de Burgh, governour of Dover-caſtle, made continual excurſions, and

plundered

plundered the eſtates of the revolted barons.

Of this fortreſs, which was then deemed the key of England, Lewis determined to make himſelf maſter. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of July, he began the ſiege; but in this attempt he met with greater difficulties than he at firſt imagined.

Hubert de Burgh, who was a brave, vigilant, and experienced officer, defended the place with ſuch courage and reſolution, and repulſed the aſſailants with ſuch terrible ſlaughter, that Lewis ſwore, in a tranſport of rage, he would not raiſe the ſiege till he had taken the caſtle, and ſatiated his revenge with the maſſacre of the garriſon; an oath which, happily, he was never able to perform.

While he was loſing his time in this enterprize, the barons, at the head of another army, reduced the caſtles of Berkamſtede, Hertford, Cambridge, Norwich, and Oxford, and ſubdued the greateſt part of the country of the Eaſt-Angles.

John had been engaged, for ſome time paſt, in the marches of South-Wales, againſt Reginald de Braauſe, and Llewellyn, who had ſided with his enemies. Having taken their caſtles, and levied an army upon whoſe fidelity he could depend, he marched into Norfolk, where he waſted the

lands of the revolted barons, and obliged Gilbert de Gand, whom Lewis had created earl of that country, to raiſe the ſiege of Lincoln.

Lewis ſeems to have been a prince of a weak judgment, and haughty diſpoſition. Inſtead of careſſing the Engliſh, as he ought in prudence to have done, he excluded them from his councils and confidence, and beſtowed all favours upon his own countrymen, who, imitating the example of their maſter, treated the barons with the moſt ſupercilious contempt.

The Engliſh were not of a temper to put up with ſuch indignities: the earl of Saliſbury, William Mareſchal, Walter Beauchamp, and ſeveral other noblemen, deſerted the cauſe of the French monarch, who was ſo much incenſed at this defection, that he is ſaid to have formed a plan of revenge, which was diſcovered by the viſcount de Melun, one of his principal confidents.

That nobleman being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at London, and deſpairing of recovery, deſired to ſee ſuch of the barons as were then in the capital, adding, that he could not die in peace, until he ſhould diſcharge his conſcience of a load that lay heavy upon it.

The

The barons being come, he told them that Lewis had reſolved to puniſh all the Engliſh who had fought in his cauſe, as traitors to their lawful ſovereign; that he had taken this reſolution in a council of ſixteen French peers, and confirmed it by an oath; and that this information ought to meet with the greater credit, as it came from a man who was juſt going to appear before the impartial judge of the univerſe.

The barons, alarmed at this intelligence, began to repent of having invited foreigners into the kingdom, and to think ſeriouſly of reconciling themſelves to their own ſovereign; and, in effect, no leſs than forty of them had given John aſſurances of eſpouſing his cauſe, when death prevented him from reaping the fruits of their good intention.

That unhappy prince, after having waſted the lands of the revolted barons in Norfolk, retired to Lynne, which, on account of the great loyalty and affection it had always expreſſed for him, he had erected into a corporation; and preſented the firſt mayor with his ſword, which is ſtill preſerved there as a curioſity.

Here he had depoſited his treaſures, his crown, ſceptre, and other valuable effects, as in a place of the greateſt ſafety. But hearing of the general odium which Lewis

had incurred, and of the resolution which several of the barons had taken to return to his service, he determined to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, and hazard a decisive battle.

With this view he assembled a numerous army, and set out on his march, which lay over the Washes between Lincolnshire and Norfolk. This marsh lies on the banks of the river Well-stream, which overflows it at high-water.

Had John attempted a passage at low-water, he might have continued his march with great ease and expedition; but he was so imprudent as to enter the washes just as the tide was beginning to flow, which rushed in upon him with such violence and rapidity, that he lost the greatest part of his forces, together with all his treasure, baggage, and regalia, and he himself narrowly escaped with life.

In the evening he arrived at the abbey of Swineshead, where he was seized with a violent fever, occasioned by his grief for the irreparable loss he had sustained. Next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the castle of Sleford, and from thence to Newark, where after having made his will, and appointed his eldest son Henry his heir, he died on the

nineteenth

nineteenth day of October, * in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

* Some old authours pretend that he was poiſoned by a monk at the abbey of Swineſhead. Caxton in his Chronicle, which was compoſed about the year 1483, and printed in 1502, gives us a curious account of this matter, which we beg leave to ſubjoin, as it contains a ſtriking picture of the ſimplicity of that age.

"The king came by the abbey of Swineſhead, and there he abode two days; and as he ſat at meat, he aſked of a monk of the houſe, how much that loaf was worth that was ſet before him upon the table? and the monk ſayd, that the loaf was worth but one halfpenny. O! ſayd the kyng, tho there is great cheap of bread; now, ſayd he, tho I may live any while, ſuch a loaf will be worth twenty ſhillings, or half a year be gone. And ſo when ſayd this worde, moch he thought, and often he ſighed, and toke and ete of the bread, and ſaid, by God, the word, the word, that I have ſpoken, it ſhall be ſoth. The monk, that ſtode before the kyng, was for this worde full of ſory in his herte, and thought rather he would himſelf ſuffer death, and thought if he mighte ordeyne ſome mannere remedye. And anon the monke wente unto his abbot, and was ſhriven of him, and told the abbot all that the kyng had ſayd, and prayed the abbot for to aſſoyle him; for he would give the kyng ſuch a drinke, that all Englonde ſhould be glad thereof and joyfull. Tho yede the monk into a gardeyne, and found a grette tode therein, and toke her up, and put her in a cuppe, and prycked the tode through with a broche many tymes, till that the venym came out of every ſyde in the cuppe; and tho toke the cuppe, and filled it with good ayll, and brought it before the kyng, kneyling,

reign. His bowels were buried in the abbey of Croxton, and his body in the cathedral of Worceſter, between the graves of St. Oſwald and St. Wulſtan.

John was of a ſtature above the middle ſize, of a handſome ſhape, and agreeable countenance. With regard to his character, it is ſtrongly marked in the tranſactions of

kneyling, ſayenge, Sir, ſayd he, wlap ayll, for never the dayes of all your life dronke ye of ſo good a cuppe. Begyn, monk, ſayd the kyng; and the monk dronke a grette draught, and toke the kyng the cuppe, and the kyng dronke alſo a grette draught, and ſett down the cuppe. The monk annon righte went into famerye, and there dyed annon, on whoſe ſoule God have mercy, amen. And five monks ſynge for his ſoule ſpecially, and ſhall while that the abbey ſtandeth. The kyng roſe up annon full evyll at eaſe, and commanded to remove the table, and axed for the monk; and men told him that he was dead, for his wombe was broken in ſundre. When the kyng heard this, he commanded for to truſſe; but it was for nought; for his belly begane to ſwelle for the drynke that he had dronke, and within two dayes he dyed, on the morrow after ſaynt Lukis day."

But Hemingford gives a different account of the matter. He ſays, the abbot perſuaded the monk to poiſon the king, becauſe he had attempted to debauch his ſiſter; and that the monk effected his purpoſe by means of a diſh of pears, all of which he poiſoned except three, which he took care to diſtinguiſh by a mark. Theſe pears he preſented to the king, and being deſired to taſte them himſelf, he eat the three that he had marked; by which means he eſcaped with life, while the king was poiſoned by eating the reſt.

Speed proves that this king was really poiſoned from numbers of original manuſcripts.

of his reign, The weakneſs of his head was only exceeded by the badneſs of his heart. Sluggiſh, lazy, and indolent, nothing but the moſt imminent danger could arouſe him from his favourite eaſe; raſh, headſtrong, and impetuous, he ſometimes engaged in undertakings, for the accompliſhment of which the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities would not have been ſufficient.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that his reign was not altogether deſtitute of laudable tranſactions. * He eſtabliſhed the form of civil government in London, and ſeveral other places in the kingdom; he was the firſt who coined ſterling money, introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted the Cinque Ports thoſe privileges which they now enjoy.

But theſe advantages were probably extorted from him by the importunity of the barons, who, during this period, were actuated by a true ſpirit of liberty, and by a regard to the public good. His wicked heart could never have ſuggeſted, nor his ſtupid head have executed plans of ſuch national utility. When left to purſue the bent of his own genius, he ſpent his whole time in the gratification of his own vicious paſſions, alike regardleſs of the happineſs or miſery of his people.

Faithleſs

* Speed and Dr. Campbell vindicate his character, and ſhew, that tho' he was ſomewhat faulty, he was more virtuous and deſerving of praiſe for ſupporting the dignity of our flag.

Faithleſs in his promiſes, he could never retain his ſubjects in their duty; and implacable in his revenge, he could never reclaim them after they had renounced their allegiance: abject in adverſity, he condeſcended to the moſt ſhameful and inglorious means in order to preſerve his power; and haughty and overbearing in proſperity, he diſguſted and diſobliged the very perſons to whom he had been indebted for his ſucceſs: groſs and indelicate in his affections, his love of women degenerated into downright brutality; and cruel and ſavage in his temper, his ambition ſwelled into abſolute deſpotiſm, and the moſt intolerable tyranny: in a word, he ſeems to have been a compound of almoſt every vice that can diſgrace the dignity of human nature, with hardly a ſingle virtue or good quality to throw into the oppoſite ſcale.

And yet, ſuch are the wiſe decrees of providence, and ſuch the common revolutions of human affairs, that there is no evil but what may be productive of ſome good: his reign, wicked and miſerable as it certainly was, gave occaſion to thoſe excellent charters which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution; his tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and indolence, afterwards, enabled them to obtain thoſe inеſtimable rights and privileges, which

now

The Monument of K. John in the Cathedral at Worcester.

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

now distinguish the island of Great-Britain above every other nation on the face of the earth. *

HENRY

* John was first married to Isabel, daughter of William earl of Glouceſter, by whom he had no children, and from whom, on that and other accounts, he thought proper to obtain a divorce. By his ſecond wife of the ſame name, and daughter of Aymar, count of Engouleſme, he had two ſons; namely, Henry, who ſucceeded him, and Richard, who was afterwards earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans: and three daughters; Jane, who was firſt affianced to Hugh de Luſignan, eldeſt ſon of Hugh count de la Marche, but afterwards married to Alexander king of Scotland; Eleanor, wife of William Mareſchal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards married to Simon Montfort earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabel matched with Frederic II. emperor of Germany.

His natural children were, Richard, by a daughter of the earl of Warenne, and therefore called Richard de Warenne; Geoffroy Fitz-Roy who died in Poitou; John, prebendary of Shirburn; Henry, Lord of the manor of Waltham; Oſbert Giffard; Oliver de Durdent, by Avice Tracy; Joane, by Agatha, daughter of Robert earl of Ferrers, married to Llewellyn prince of North Wales; Reginald, Swynulf, and Eudo, whoſe mothers, titles, and fortunes are not mentioned.

With regard to the ſtory of John's having ſent ambaſſadors to the Miramemolin of Morocco, offering to hold his crown of that prince, and to turn Muſſulman, it is commonly believed to be a fiction invented by the monks to blacken his character; which, in all conſcience, was black enough in itſelf, and did not need this additional ſtain in order to render it truly odious.

HENRY III.

Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

A. D. 1216.

THE reign of a minor has always been considered as a great misfortune to any kingdom, even in the most flourishing condition; but, to a nation involved, as England was, in civil discord and dissension, it was doubly alarming. Lewis was already in possession of the metropolis and of more than one half of the realm; he was favoured by the majority of the English barons, and was supported by the whole power of France; his forces were more numerous and better disciplined than those of his enemy; and thus superior to his rival in almost every respect, he made no doubt of his being able, in a short time, to reduce the whole kingdom to his obedience.

Every circumstance, indeed, seemed to encourage him in entertaining this flattering prospect; and, if the event did not answer his expectation, it was rather owing to his own folly and imprudence, than to the good conduct or wise measures of his enemies.

Henry, the heir and eldest son of John, being but just turned of nine years of age at the

HENRY III.

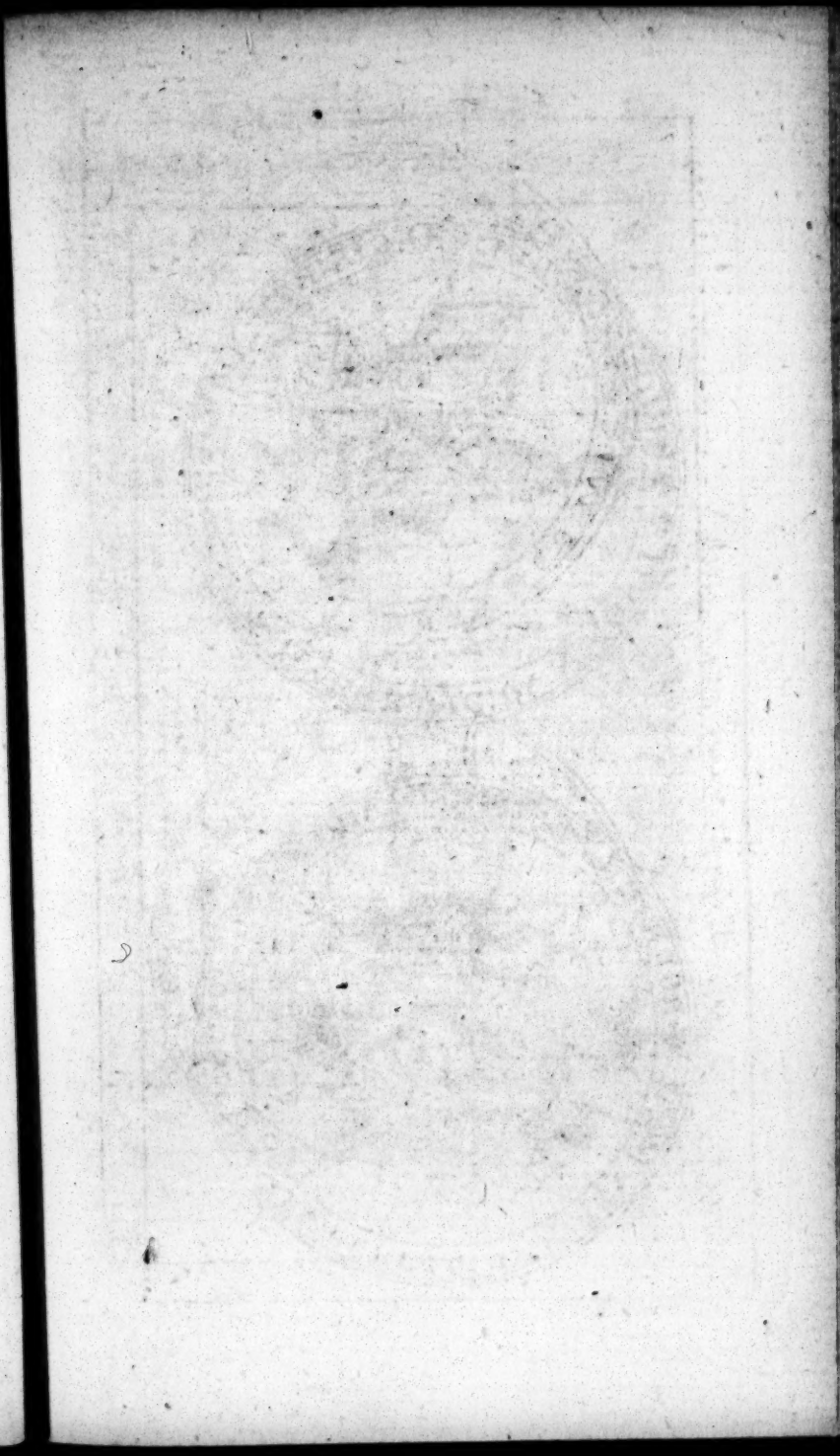
Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM

The 2d. Great Seal of Henry the 3d.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.



The Great Seal of K. Henry the 3.

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

the time of his father's death, was alike incapable of weilding the reigns of government himself, or of judging which of his subjects was best qualified for that important office. There were but few noblemen in his party, upon whose fidelity he could absolutely depend: the bulk of his forces was composed of foreign mercenaries, who could only be retained in their duty by regular pay and good treatment, and might be tempted, by the promise or prospect of greater advantages, to desert his service, and go over to the enemy.

It happened, however, very luckily for the young prince, that William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke, was at the head of the army; a post for which his great abilities, and long experience, rendered him extremely proper.

The corpse of the late king was no sooner interred, than the earl repaired to Glocester, where, on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, Henry III. was crowned in the church of St. Peter, by Gualo the pope's legate, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, the only prelates who were present on the occasion *. None of the lay nobility seem to have attended this

* The crown having been left in the washes, a simple fillet of gold was used in its place.

ſolemnity, except the earls of Cheſter, Pembroke, and Ferrers, John Mareſchal, William Briwere, Philip de Albiney, and Savary de Mauleon. Theſe, with a few abbots and priors, were all of the late king's party that could be aſſembled, on a ſudden, to aſſiſt at the coronation.

In order to quiet the minds of the people in general, to confirm the friends of the young king in his intereſt, and to induce his enemies, if poſſible, to lay down their arms, and return to their duty, he took an oath, by which he bound himſelf to perform every article of the two charters granted by his father, with the greateſt punctuality and honour.

Whatever averſion had been ſhewn, even by the loyal barons, to the inglorious ſubmiſſion which John had made to the Roman pontiff, they were nevertheleſs ſenſible, that the pope's favour and aſſiſtance would be of great conſequence to the young king in the preſent ſituation of his affairs; and they therefore prevailed upon him to do homage to Innocent, and to promiſe a regular remittance of the annuity of a thouſand marks, which his father had granted to the church of Rome.

Next day, the prelates, earls, barons, and all others who were preſent, ſwore fealty and allegiance to their new ſovereign, though

though this did not hinder the abbot of Weſtminſter, and the prior of Canterbury, from entering proteſts againſt the whole proceeding, as altogether irregular and unprecedented; the former inſiſting, that the ceremony of the coronation could be performed in no other place than Weſtminſter-abbey; and the latter alledging, that the king could be conſecrated by none but the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

But theſe proteſts were utterly diſregarded by the loyal barons, who wiſely judged, that the intereſts of the king and kingdom, ought ever to be preferred to the obſervance of cuſtoms, however ſacred or ancient; and the legate was ſo incenſed at the preſumption of the abbot and prior, in daring to queſtion what he had done, that he laid them under a ſentence of excommunication.

The loyal barons having thus ſtrengthened their party, by the ſanction of the royal authority, reſolved to take ſuch other meaſures as were moſt neceſſary for ſupporting the pretenſions of their young ſovereign; and accordingly appointed the earl of Pembroke guardian of the king, and regent of the realm, with the title of *rector regis et regni*.

This honourable and important office, they could not have conferred upon a man

of greater abilities, or more inviolable honour. To him the late king had been chiefly indebted for his crown. He had ever preſerved his fidelity to his maſter, amidſt all his calamities and misfortunes, and, of conſequence, had always been admitted into his moſt ſecret councils. He was thoroughly acquainted with the cauſe of the late troubles, and with the intereſts and intrigues of thoſe by whom they had been excited. He well knew how much the barons were diſpleaſed with the conduct of the prince whom they had invited into the kingdom; was privy to the ſecret negociation between John and the forty barons who had promiſed to return to their duty, and abandon the cauſe of Lewis; and he had reaſon to think, that the confederacy would diſſolve, as ſoon as they ſhould be aſſured of a pardon.

Accordingly he wrote circular letters to all the barons and corporations in the realm, notifying the king's coronation, and offering a general indemnity to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance.

This aſſurance, and the known probity of the regent, made a deep impreſſion on many of the confederates, who were further influenced by the ſentence of excommunication, which had been iſſued out againſt Lewis

Lewis and themſelves; and which, by the legate's expreſs orders, was repeated every Sunday; for, though in the beginning of the rebellion, while their minds were enflamed with rage and reſentment, they had affected to deſpiſe the cenſures of the pope, yet now, that their paſſions were ſubſided, and they had time to reflect coolly on the matter, their ſuperſtitious fears began to revive, and they heartily wiſhed to be readmitted into the boſom of the church, and reconciled to their ſovereign.

Mean while Lewis, in conſequence of the raſh vow he had made, that he would not raiſe the ſiege of Dover caſtle, until he had reduced the place, was ſtill employed in that difficult and fruitleſs undertaking. He had frequently endeavoured to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh the governour, but ſtill found his honour and his courage alike invincible.

He no ſooner received the news of the king's death, than he deſired a parley, in which he repreſented to the Caſtellan, that, as he was now releaſed from the oath of allegiance he had taken, he ought to make no ſcruple in acknowledging a prince whom his countrymen had received as their ſovereign, and who would gladly embrace every opportunity of rewarding his merit.

Hubert replied, with that openneſs and ingenuity which ever accompanies the brave, that, as the late king had left a ſon and ſucceſſor, whom it was his duty to obey, he would maintain his cauſe to the laſt drop of his blood; and that, with regard to his betraying the place, he could never believe, that the eſteem of a magnanimous prince could be gained by ſuch an act of perfidy and baſeneſs.

Lewis, finding his virtue incorruptible, reſolved to work upon his fear, and threatned to take away the life of his brother, whom he had in his cuſtody; but Hubert was equally proof againſt his threats and promiſes, ſo that the French prince was obliged to relinquiſh the enterprize, and return to London.

Having taken the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring his intereſt in that capital, he inveſted the caſtle of Hertford, which he ſoon reduced. From thence he marched againſt the caſtle of Berkhamſtead, and, after lying before the place for about a fortnight, the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Theſe indeed were very conſiderable acquiſitions, and might have turned to good account, had not Lewis, by his fooliſh and imprudent conduct, loſt all the advantage he might otherwiſe have derived from them.

The

The fortreſs of Hertford belonged, by hereditary right, to Robert Fitz-Walter, who accordingly demanded the cuſtody of it; but in this demand he met with a flat refuſal, and had the further mortification to ſee the government conferred on a Frenchman, and the caſtle garriſoned with foreigners.

Lewis, indeed, took care to ſoften this denial with a promiſe, that he would reſtore every one to the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights, as ſoon as the troubles of the nation ſhould be compoſed; but this was not ſufficient to appeaſe the indignation, or quiet the apprehenſions of the Engliſh, who now ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their inheritances by aliens, reviled as traitors to their king and country, and deemed unworthy to be entruſted with any place of importance.

They now began to believe the truth of what the count de Melun had diſcovered to them on his death-bed, and to conſider themſelves as victims devoted to deſtruction; and thus inflamed with reſentment for the injuries they had already ſuffered, and alarmed with the proſpect of ſtill greater dangers, they reſolved to abandon the cauſe of the French monarch, who, in the mean time, proceeded in his conqueſts; and, about the end of the year, returned to London.

While

While Lewis was thus endeavouring to avail himſelf of the event of the king's death, the regent exerted his utmoſt efforts in ſupporting the pretenſions of his pupil.

He acquainted the pope with his coronation, and ſollicited the protection of his holineſs in favour of the young prince, who was encompaſſed, on all hands, with foreign and domeſtic enemies; and Innocent, ever attentive to his own intereſt, and who prudently conſidered England as part of the patrimony of St. Peter, readily complied with his requeſt.

He ſent freſh powers to his legate, to renew the excommunication againſt Lewis and the confederates; and the French prince being made acquainted with the mandate, proteſted ſolemnly againſt every ſtep that ſhould be taken to his prejudice.

Mean time, in order to prevent the bad effects of the cenſure, in caſe it ſhould take place, he ordered the barons to renew their oaths of duty and allegiance, and appointed a day for that purpoſe. But neither this precaution, nor the ſolemn proteſt he had entered, could hinder the legate from executing the pope's orders: he convoked a ſynod at Briſtol, where he repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis, and all his adherents; and many of the barons

barons made this cenſure a pretext for refuſing the homage which Lewis had required.

As the Chriſtmas holidays were now approaching, both parties agreed to a truce, which was to continue till a fortnight after Epiphany; during which Lewis aſſembled a general council at Oxford. The regent convoked another, though leſs numerous, at Cambridge, and demanded a prolongation of the truce till a month after Eaſter.*

Lewis, at firſt, refuſed to comply with his requeſt; but hearing that the pope intended to excommunicate him in full conſiſtory, he was at laſt glad to accept the propoſal, that he might make a ſhort tour to Paris, as well to avert the thunder of the vatican, as to procure a ſupply of men and money.

This ceſſation of hoſtilities was of great advantage to the king's party, as it furniſhed the regent with an opportunity of making freſh levies, and perſuading ſome of the moſt conſiderable barons to eſpouſe the royal cauſe. Among others gained over on this occaſion, were Hugh de Laci and William Mareſchal, the regent's own ſon, who had been a zealous partiſan of the French prince.

The

* A. D. 1217.

The Cinque Ports, likewiſe, declared in favour of Henry, and fitted out a fleet, with which they attacked Lewis in his return, and deſtroyed ſome of his veſſels; an inſult (as he was pleaſed to term it) which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, when he landed at Sandwich, he reduced the town to aſhes.

The firſt act of hoſtility, after the expiration of the truce, was the ſiege of Montſorrel, in the county of Leiceſter, which was inveſted by the earls of Lincoln, Albemarle, and Ferrers, and ſeveral other noblemen, whom, together with their followers, the regent had detached for that purpoſe.

This place belonged to Saher de Quincy, earl of Wincheſter, and was commanded by Henry de Braybroc, who, being hard preſſed by the beſiegers, entreated his lord to come to his relief. The earl ſollicited a reinforcement from Lewis, who furniſhed him with an army, not only ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege, but even ſtrong enough to ſubdue the whole county.

This army, conſiſting of ſix hundred knights, and twenty thouſand ſoldiers, was headed by the count de Perche, who immediately began his march, plundering the churches and monaſteries as he advanced, and ravaging the adjacent country with great

great barbarity. The Engliſh, obſerving the approach of the enemy, to whom they were greatly inferior in point of numbers, abandoned the ſiege with precipitation, and retired to Nottingham.

Elated with this ſucceſs, and confiding in the ſuperiority of his numbers, the count reſolved to reduce the caſtle of Lincoln, which had been inveſted, for a conſiderable time paſt, by one Gilbert de Grand, whom Lewis had created earl of Lincoln, and who had found means to make himſelf maſter of the city. Advancing therefore with great expedition, he joined the beſiegers, and aſſaulted the caſtle with the utmoſt vigour and reſolution; but it was as bravely defended by a noble lady, named Nichola, relict of Gerard de Camville, and daughter of Richard de la Haye, who enjoyed the government of it by hereditary right.

As this was a place of great ſtrength and importance, the regent reſolved to hazard a battle, rather than ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly, having aſſembled his forces, he immediately began his march, and advanced with ſo much expedition, that he reached Newark, within twelve miles of Lincoln, before the French were aware of his approach. He was attended by his eldeſt ſon, by W. and John Mareſchal, W. and Philip de Albiney, Thomas

Thomas Baſſet, W. de Canteloup, Geoffry de Lucy, and Fulk de Breant, with their followers, beſides the earls and barons, who had lately been engaged in the ſiege of Montſorrel: his army conſiſted of four hundred knights, two hundred and fifty croſs-bow men, a good number of gentlemen on horſeback, and a ſtrong body of infantry.

In order to inſpire them with the greater courage and reſolution, the pope's legate excommunicated Lewis by name, together with all his adherents; and promiſed a full abſolution from all their ſins, and an aſſurance of eternal life to all ſuch as ſhould hazard their lives in relieving the caſtle of Lincoln.

Animated with theſe hopes, the regent's forces ſet out from Newark, where they had reſted three days; and, after having encamped all night at Stow, reſumed their march in the morning, diſpoſed in ſeven columns, the croſs-bow men leading the van, and the baggage and ſutlers cloſing the rear.

Upon the firſt news of their approach, the French, with their uſual confidence, were ſo very ſecure, that they would not even give credit to the intelligence; and, affecting to treat it as an idle report, continued to batter the caſtle with great vi-

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gour and reſolution; but Robert Fitz-walter, and the earl of Wincheſter, who had either received better information, or, at leaſt, were poſſeſſed of more modeſty and prudence, thought it moſt adviſeable to go out with a party to reconnoitre the enemy.

The firſt thing that ſtruck them was the admirable order and ſolemn ſilence with which the Engliſh advanced, from whence they rationally inferred, that they were come with a determined reſolution to conquer or die; however, as they appeared to be much inferiour to their own army in point of number, they adviſed the general to quit the town, and engage the enemy in the open plain, where their cavalry, in which their greateſt ſtrengh conſiſted, could act with freedom and advantage.

The count of Perche, who was a hot, headſtrong, and conceited youth, not only rejected the advice of the two noblemen, but even ſeemed to queſtion the truth of their information, and therefore reſolved to go in perſon, and take a view of the regent's army.

Each of the Engliſh barons had two banners; one at the head of their troop of warriours; and another carried before their ſervants and ſutlers. This laſt multitude, which, in caſe of a retreat, would

have been a great incumbrance to the regular forces, was, nevertheleſs, at preſent, of admirable uſe; it ſerved to give the army a more grand and pompous appearance; ſo that the count believing the enemy to be much more numerous than they really were, determined to keep within the walls of the city, until he ſhould have reduced the caſtle, which, he imagined, would ſoon ſurrender.

Though this reſolution was condemned by the majority of the officers, they were yet obliged to obey the orders of the count, and accordingly repaired to the different ports that were aſſigned them.

The regent was a general of too much prudence and experience not to take advantage of the count's blunders: he immediately detached a ſtrong party, under the command of Fulk de Breant, whom he ordered to enter the caſtle by a private paſſage, and ſally forth upon the beſiegers, while he himſelf ſhould attack the northern gate of the city.

The caſtle was ſituated on the brow of an hill, on the north-ſide of the town, which it entirely commanded; and the archers being planted on the bulwarks, poured down ſuch thick and repeated ſhowers of arrows upon the beſiegers, that, after they had loſt a conſiderable num-

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ber of men, they were obliged to retire to a greater diſtance.

The French, always vain, and always confident, (for vanity and confidence are twin-ſiſters) had fooliſhly imagined that they were perfectly ſecure from any attack on that quarterr: they had hardly recovered themſelves from their firſt ſurprize, when Fulk de Breant, agreeable to the orders he had received, ruſhed forth upon them with his whole party; and though, at firſt, he was ſurrounded, and almoſt taken priſoner by the enemy, yet, being reſcued by the bravery of his own men, he renewed the charge with redoubled vigour, and while he kept the French in play, Savory de Mauleon forced the gate, and the regent entered with the greateſt part of his army.

This ſudden and unexpected event threw the enemy into the utmoſt terror and conſternation: nothing now but carnage and ſlaughter in their moſt hideous and ugly forms, prevailed in every part of the city. The French troops were too numerous to advance to the charge in a regular order; their cavalry, cooped up and wedged together in the narrow ſtreets, was ſo far from being of any real advantage, that they ſerved only to trample their infantry under their feet, and both of them fell an eaſy prey

to the Engliſh archers, who plyed their bows with ſo much dexterity and addreſs, that they brought them to the ground by hundreds at a time.

Unable as they were, in theſe circumſtances, to ſtand on their defence, they would fain have conſulted their ſafety by a precipitate flight; but the count de Perche rejected the expedient as mean and inglorious, and aſcribing, as indeed he had reaſon to aſcribe, the whole cataſtrophe to his own imprudence, he determined not to reſign the victory but together with his life.

Often was he preſſed to accept of quarter, and as often did he refuſe to yield, ſwearing that he would never ſurrender his ſword to any Engliſhman, all of whom he upbraided as traitors to their lawful ſovereign. Thus he continued to fight with ſurprizing valour and intrepidity, till covered with wounds, and exhauſted with loſs of blood, his brain was, at laſt, pierced by a weapon that entered at the eye-hole of his helmet; and falling to the ground a breathleſs corpſe, he attoned, in ſome meaſure, by his noble and glorious death, for all the follies and miſcarriages of his life.

The death of the general put an end to the action: the battle (if a battle it could

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ever be called) was now converted into a total rout: the French fled with the utmoſt hurry and trepidation, and endeavoured to eſcape at the ſouthern gate of the city; but there the cavalry were ſtopped by a bar of iron that had been fixed a-croſs the gate; and hardly, indeed, would any of the infantry have been able to make their eſcape, had not the royaliſts, moved with pity for ſuch of their relations as were in the hoſtile army, ſlackened the purſuit, by which means a good number of the French got ſafe out of the town: but this was only a temporary reſpite; the peaſants, who were greatly exaſperated againſt theſe foreigners, on account of the cruelties they had committed, fell upon them with ſuch fury, that of more than twenty thouſand men, who had lately ſet out from London, under the conduct of the count of Perche, none ſurvived to carry the news of this fatal cataſtrophe to Lewis, except the mareſchal of France, the caſtellan of Arras, and about two hundred knights, who, after having been expoſed to the moſt imminent dangers, and frequently obliged to change their route, arrived in ſafety at the metropolis.

Many noblemen of the firſt diſtinction were taken priſoners on this occaſion. Among theſe were Saher earl of Win-

cheſter, Henry de Bohun earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Grand, Robert Fitz-walter, Richard de Montfichet, W. de Mowbray, W. de Beauchamp, Mauduit de Ros, Oliver de Harcourt, Roger de Creſſy, Robert de Ropeſle, Ralph de Cheſneduit, and many other barons, beſides four hundred knights, and a great number of eſquires and common ſoldiers.

All the rich furniture, plate, and baggage of the barons and the French fell into the hands of the conquerours, who were likewiſe permitted to plunder the town and the church, in which they found an immenſe booty, as may be eaſily collected from the loſs which the precentor of the cathedral is ſaid to have ſuſtained, amounting to leſs than eleven thouſand marks.

This ſignal victory, which was gained on the twentieth of May, was attended with many happy conſequences. The garriſon of Montſorrel immediately abandoned the place, which next morning, by the regent's orders, was diſmantled; and the caſtles of Pec and Balſover were, ſoon after, ſurrendered to the earl of Ferrers.

The affairs of Lewis were now in a moſt deplorable condition: all the fortreſſes which he had hitherto held, were immediately delivered up to the regent, who, in a few

a few days, reduced all the country to the northward of London, and even blocked up the capital itſelf.

The citizens, who had never dreamed of ſuch a ſudden revolution of affairs, were altogether unprovided for a ſiege; and Lewis, who either ſuſpected their fidelity, or perhaps had received ſome ſecret intelligence of a plot for betraying the place to the royaliſts, cauſed all the gates of the city, except one, to be walled up, and obliged the inhabitants to renew their oaths of homage and allegiance.

In theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, he had no other reſource than to apply to his father, the king of France, to whom he now ſent for a large ſupply of men, money, and proviſions, without which it would be abſolutely impoſſible for him either to face his enemy in the field, or even to quit the kingdom with ſafety. And as it was neceſſary to gain time till the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he propoſed a conference between four of his commiſſioners, and as many on the king's ſide, who accordingly met between Brentford and Hounſlowe; but as this was only intended as a decoy to amuſe the royaliſts, it was attended with no material conſequences.

Philip had been already threatened by the pope, with an excommunication and in-

interdict, for not recalling his ſon from England, and therefore durſt not incenſe his holineſs further, by ſending him any new reinforcements; but as he could not hinder Blanche of Caſtile, the wife of Lewis, from affording relief to her huſband, her name was employed as a pretext for raiſing three hundred knights and a ſtrong body of forces, which were immediately embarked on board a fleet commanded by Euſtace le Moine, who had formerly deſerted the ſervice of king John, and entered into that of the French monarch.

The regent was no ſooner informed of this expedition, than he detached Philip de Albiney, and John de Mareſchal, with a ſtrong body of forces, into the maritime counties, in order to concert proper meaſures with the wardens of the Cinque Ports, for intercepting theſe ſuccours at ſea, and preventing their debarkation in England.

The French fleet, which conſiſted of eighty large ſhips, beſides a great number of a leſſer ſize, and ſome gallies, ſet ſail from the coaſt of France on the twenty-third of Auguſt; and, being favoured with a briſk gale, was driven with great rapidity towards the Engliſh ſhore, where the land-forces were to make their deſcent.

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The fleet of the Cinque Ports, which watched the motions of the enemy, allowed them to paſs without interruption, in order to get the advantage of the wind, and then bore down upon them with great courage and reſolution.

It was compoſed only of forty ſhips; but they were ſtrongly built, armed with iron beaks, and, by the care of Hubert de Burgh and Philip de Albiney, were furniſhed with a good body of croſs-bow men and archers. The Engliſh ſailors too were greatly ſuperior to the French, as well in their knowledge of naval affairs, as in their dexterity and addreſs in managing their weapons, the latter having little or no experience in ſea engagements.

Thus, confiding in the ſtrength of their ſhips, and their own bravery and reſolution, they ruſhed down upon the enemy with great impetuoſity; and peircing their ſhips with their iron beaks, they ſunk and deſtroyed a good number of their veſſels; and when they came along-ſide of the French, they threw into their eyes large quantities of lime, reduced to a fine powder; ſo that the enemy, being deprived of the power of ſeeing, were utterly incapable of making any reſiſtance; and the Engliſh archers plied their bows with ſo much agility, that they

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ſwept the decks with great eaſe and deliberation.

In this miſerable condition, flight was the only thing that could ſave them from utter deſtruction; but even this laſt reſource of the vanquiſhed was denied them; the wind ſat full in their teeth, and effectually obſtructed their return to their own coaſt.

Thus ſurrounded with dangers on all hands, alike incapable to fight or to fly, unable to reſiſt and unwilling to yield, many of them jumped over-board into the ſea, and periſhed in the waves; and Euſtace le Moine, who was equally hated for his piracies and his deſertion, being found in the bottom of a ſhip, was dragged on ſhore, and, though he offered large ſums for his ranſom, his head was ſevered from his body, by Richard, a natural ſon of the late king.

This was even a more terrible blow to Lewis than the defeat he had ſuſtained at Lincoln. His affairs were now irretrievably ruined: he ſaw himſelf ſhut up in a foreign country, without the moſt diſtant proſpect of receiving any reinforcements, and even beſieged in the capital without the leaſt hopes of being able to make his eſcape.

In this forlorn ſituation, he deſired the regent to grant him an honourable peace, in which all his allies ſhould be included; other-

otherwiſe he would liſten to no terms of accommodation.

The earl of Pembroke, unwilling to provoke the king of France, who would doubtleſs exert his utmoſt efforts in ſaving his ſon from deſtruction, and deſirous of putting an end to the troubles of his country, readily complied with his requeſt.

Conferences were accordingly opened, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the following terms; that all the adherents of Lewis ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the rights and poſſeſſions they enjoyed before the commencement of the war; that the city of London ſhould retain her ancient privileges; that all the priſoners, taken ſince the arrival of Lewis in England, ſhould be releaſed, and commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the terms upon which the reſt ſhould be ranſomed or exchanged; that all the Engliſh, of what rank or condition ſoever, who had taken arms againſt John, ſhould ſwear fealty and allegiance to Henry; that the hoſtages given to Lewis for the ranſom of priſoners, ſhould be releaſed immediately upon the payment of the money; that all places, towns, and caſtles, poſſeſſed by Lewis in England, ſhould be delivered to king Henry; that the king of Scotland might be comprehended in this treaty, upon reſtoring all that he had ſeized during the war; and

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that the Engliſh monarch ſhould make the ſame reſtitution to him; that the prince of Wales ſhould enjoy the benefit of the ſame ſtipulation; that Lewis ſhould reſtore all the iſles which were occupied in his name; that he ſhould renounce the homage he had received from the Engliſh ſubjects; that all the ſums which were due to him, and the terms of paying which were fully expired, ſhould be regularly remitted; and that eccleſiaſtics ſhould enjoy the benefit of this treaty, not in their clerical capacity, but only with reſpect to their law-fees.

Beſides theſe public articles, Lewis engaged to employ all his intereſt with his father, that the foreign dominions belonging to the royal family of England might be reſtored; and, in caſe he could not ſucceed, he promiſed to make reſtitution of them all at his own acceſſion to the throne of France. This treaty being ſigned, ratified, and comfirmed by the pope's legate; Lewis received abſolution, and being accompanied by the regent to the ſea-ſide, ſet ſail for France, after having borrowed five thouſand marks of the citizens of London to pay his debts, and defray the charges of his voyage.

The citizens of London had been the ſupport of the barons during the whole time of the inſurrection, had been as eager as any other people in the kingdom

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in inviting Lewis to come over to aſcend the throne of England, and as zealous afterwards in maintaining his cauſe: but, whether they were now touched with pity and compaſſion for the tender age and innocence of Henry; whether they expected to ſee the charters of Liberties more firmly eſtabliſhed, and more faithfully obſerved by an Engliſh prince than by a foreigner, or reſented the ſuſpicion which Lewis ſeemed to entertain of their fidelity; or whether, in fine, the continual defection of the great barons during the truce, the utter deſtruction of the French forces at Lincoln, and the deſperate ſituation of Lewis's affairs after that diſaſter, had altered their views and ſentiments; certain it is, their attachment to that prince was ſo much leſſened, that, after his return from France with freſh ſuccours, he durſt not ſtir without the walls of the city, for fear the Londoners ſhould ſhut their gates againſt him, and declare in favour of king Henry.

Whatever be in this, Lewis was no ſooner gone, than Henry entered London, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the citizens, who, together with the noblemen then preſent, took the oaths of duty and allegiance to their young ſovereign. But ſomething more was wanting to appeaſe the troubles of the nation, after

having been ſo long diſtracted by civil diſcord and diſſenſion, and harraſſed by the depredations of foreign mercenaries. Tho' Lewis had taken care to comprehend all his adherents in the treaty, yet ſome of the principal barons ſtill ſeemed to entertain a ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of the court; and either for that reaſon, or perhaps with a view of getting their rights and claims ſecured by particular proviſions, refuſed to lay down their arms, till being encouraged by the repeated promiſes of the king, and furniſhed with a ſafe-conduct, they were perſuaded to come and treat with the regent on that ſubject. It was probably to remove a like jealouſy in the citizens of London, who by ſwearing allegiance to Lewis, and fighting in the cauſe of that prince, had forfeited their old charters, that Henry, on the fourth of October, granted them a new charter confirming all their rights and privileges. It was likewiſe to promote their intereſt, as well as to contribute to the general good of the nation, that a treaty was, about this time, concluded with Haquin, king of Norway, for opening a free commerce between that country and England.

Alexander king of Scotland, and Llewellyn prince of North-Wales, had both embarked

embarked in the cauſe of Lewis, with great zeal and alacrity; and accordingly were comprehended in the articles of agreement, provided they would ſubmit to the ſame terms which Lewis himſelf had embraced.

Alexander had actually advanced as far as Jedburgh, with a view of invading England, at the time that the treaty was ſet on foot; of which he no ſooner received intelligence, than he diſmiſſed his army, and remained on the borders until he heard that the parties had come to a final agreement. His intention in making this ſtay, ſeems to have been to procure abſolution from the cenſures of excommunication and interdict, which the legate had iſſued againſt the king, the people, and the kingdom of Scotland, for their adherence to Lewis; and it was not without great difficulty that he prevailed upon Gualo to grant his requeſt.

The regent treated Alexander with greater complaiſance: he furniſhed him with a ſafe-conduct, and appointed the conſtable of Cheſter to eſcort him to the Engliſh court, in conſequence of which he repaired to Northampton, and ſwore fealty to Henry for the fiefs he poſſeſſed in England.

Llewellyn, and the Welch nobility, accepted the benefit of the treaty, in which they had been included; but they were more backward in performing the conditions

to which it was annexed.* They had been invited to Hereford, in order to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication under which they lay; but they declined the invitation, until being deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance from the Engliſh barons, and cited by a freſh ſummons, they repaired to Worceſter, where they did homage, and ſwore fealty to Henry.

By this agreement, Llewellyn obliged himſelf to put the caſtles of Cardigan and Carmarthen into the hands of the legate for Henry's behoof, to reſtore all the other caſtles in South-Wales, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours in reclaiming ſuch of the Welſh nobility as had not yet made their ſubmiſſion, and not to harbour any Engliſh rebel within his territories. He engaged to preſerve the lands of Gwenwynnyn, in Montgomeryſhire, and in other parts of Wales, to make an handſome proviſion for the heirs of that nobleman till they ſhould come of age, and not demand any gratuity for the trouble of their wardſhip, which was committed to his care.

Nothing, indeed, could be better calculated for appeaſing the troubles of the nation, than the wiſe conduct which the regent purſued. He took care to aſſure the people that the two charters ſhould be

* A. D. 1218.

be faithfully executed; he ordered writs to be iſſued out, directed to all the ſheriffs in England, enjoining them to proclaim theſe charters in all the county courts, and to exact an oath from all perſons that they would obſerve them with the greateſt ſtrictneſs and punctuality. And as a proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, he ordered John de Mareſchal, chief juſticiary of the foreſts, to make a circuit through the kingdom, and, by the aſſiſtance of twelve knights to be choſen in each county, to diſforeſt all the lands that ought to be laid open according to the *Charta de Foreſta*. Theſe meaſures were extremely agreeable to the whole nation, though the demolition of the forts erected ſince the commencement of the rebellion, did not meet with the ſame approbation. The conduct of the legate was not ſo well adapted to compoſe the public commotions. The clergy of all orders, being expreſsly excluded, in their clerical capacity, from all benefit of the treaty, had been left entirely at his mercy.

This excluſion ſeems to have been chiefly deſigned for the puniſhment of the canons of Carliſle, and of Simon Langton, and Gervaſe Hobrugge, the former of whom had adhered to the king of Scotland, performed divine ſervice during the interdict,

and even chosen a bishop, without a licence either from the pope or the king; and the latter had, by their sermons, discourses, and celebration of the sacraments in contempt of the legate's censures, attacked the authority of the pope in the most insolent manner. But though this seems to have been the only intention of the pope in making the distinction; yet the legate, prompted by avarice, and inflamed with resentment, proceeded with equal rigour against all the clergy, who had dared to hold any intercourse with Lewis or his adherents.

He caused a severe scrutiny to be made over the whole kingdom; by which means he learned the names of all those who had disobeyed the interdict; and such as were convicted of this unpardonable crime against the majesty of the pope, were suspended, deprived, and obliged to attone for their guilt with large sums of money.

Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, was forced to pay a thousand marks for the use of the pope, and an hundred for the behoof of the legate.

Many other prelates and clergymen were obliged to make the like composition; and Gualo proceeded with such rigour and severity, that the Cistertians and Bernardins entered complaints against him at the court

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of Rome, in consequence of which he was recalled from England, and Pandulph, elect of Norwich, was substituted in his place.*

However desirous the regent was to observe the treaty which had been made with Lewis, it was not without great difficulty that he could carry it into execution. The barons, who had adhered to the late king, were very unwilling to part with the lands of the revolters, which had been granted to them by John, as a reward of their services; and the clergy complained loudly of the severe and cruel treatment they had met with from the see of Rome.

The regent, however, was fully convinced, that a faithful execution of the articles of the treaty, was the only means of re-establishing the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom; and he therefore insisted upon the immediate restitution of the alienated lands, and even compelled Robert Gawgy, by force of arms, to restore the castle of Nottingham to the bishop of Lincoln, its former owner. The rest, overawed by this resolute conduct, submitted without compulsion; and as for the clergy, he could not intermeddle in their affairs, without incurring the displeasure of the pope, whose favour and friendship it was his

* A. D. 1219.

his intereſt to cultivate. Far, therefore, from oppoſing the meaſures of his holineſs, he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all excommunicated eccleſiaſtics, who had not received abſolution, to leave the kingdom, on pain of impriſonment; ſo that they were obliged to pay large ſums to the legate, in order to obtain the removal of his cenſures.

While the earl of Pembroke was acting with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, in appeaſing the troubles of the nation, it will eaſily be believed that his death, which happened about this time, was conſidered as an irreparable loſs. He was ſucceeded by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, governour of Dover, was created chief juſticiary of the realm.

The new regent ſeems, in the adminiſtration of public affairs, to have followed the plan laid down by his predeceſſor, proceeding with the greateſt lenity and moderation; and endeavouring, by his mild and gentle meaſures, to ſooth the minds of the people. As there were ſome diſputes ſtill ſubſiſting between England and Scotland, he entered into a treaty with Alexander, for putting a final period to all their differences. A like treaty was ſet on foot with Philip king of France, for obtaining a prolongation

longation of the truce for the ſpace of four years; and this important point was, at laſt, ſettled on the twenty-ſecond of February. About the ſame time Reginald, king of Man, repaired to London, and did homage to Henry.

As the king's coronation at Wincheſter had not been attended with the uſual formalities, it was thought proper to repeat the ceremony, which was now performed by cardinal Langton, who having been lately freed from the ſuſpenſion, had returned to the kingdom. *

This ſolemnity was no ſooner finiſhed, than Henry ſet out with the regent on a progreſs through the different parts of the kingdom, in order to examine into the conduct of the ſervants belonging to the crown, and diſplace ſuch governours as were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the preſent government. None of theſe made any oppoſition to the king's will, except William de Albemarle, governour of Rockingham, who had uſurped a kind of ſovereign power, and affected to deſpiſe the orders of the regent. He at firſt refuſed to part with his employment, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence; but hearing that all the neighbouring governours

* A. D. 1220.

nours had offered to aſſiſt the king in reducing him to obedience, his heart began to miſgive him, and he ſurrendered upon capitulation.

After this expedition the king returned to London, where, with his own hand, he laid the firſt ſtone of the new abbey-church of Weſtminſter, which remains a monument of the taſte and architecture of that age.

About the ſame time, Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, cauſed the body of Thomas Becket to be removed from the ſtone coffin and vault, in which it was firſt depoſited, to a rich ſhrine of gold, adorned with precious ſtones. This ceremony was performed in preſence of the king, and Pandulf, the pope's legate, ſurrounded with an incredible number of people, many of whom had come from France, and other foreign countries, to attend at the ridiculous ſolemnity. *

Mean while, the the earl of Albemarle was very uneaſy at the loſs of his caſtle of Rockingham, of which he thought himſelf unjuſtly deprived. In revenge for this pretended injury, he fortified himſelf in his caſtle of Biham, and over-awed the whole adjacent country, compelling all merchants and tradeſmen to take paſſes and

* A. D. 1221.

and ſafe-conducts from him, without which they were in danger of being robbed of their effects.

The regent being informed of theſe lawleſs and oppreſſive meaſures, ſummoned the earl to appear before the parliament at Weſtminſter, and anſwer the crimes that were laid to his charge. William pretended to obey the ſummons, and accordingly ſet out on his journey for London; but inſtead of repairing to the place appointed, he attacked and ſurprized the caſtle of Fotheringay, and then returned to Biham.

The parliament, informed of theſe rebellious proceedings, immediately aſſembled an army to beſiege his caſtle, and puniſh the traitor with all the rigour of the law. William, apprized of the approach of the king's forces, retired into the North, leaving the caſtle of Biham to the care of a governour, who did not ſurrender till after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance.

It was generally thought that the rebel would be purſued, and at laſt compelled to quit the kingdom; but he found means to make his peace by the mediation of the archbiſhop of York, who prevailed upon the regent to forgive his revolt, in conſideration of his ſervices to the late king.

In

In the laſt progreſs which the court had made to the North, a match had been concluded between the king of Scotland, and the princeſs Joanne the king's ſiſter; but as ſhe was in the hands of the earl of March, to whoſe eldeſt ſon ſhe had been affianced, it was no eaſy matter to get her out of his cuſtody: however, after ſome negotiation, ſhe was at laſt ſent back to her brother, and her nuptials were now ſolemnized with the Scottiſh king. At the ſame time, Alexander's ſiſter was eſpouſed to Hubert de Burgh, juſticiary of England; a match, which, by raiſing him to a rank above his fellow ſubjects, expoſed him to the envy and jealouſy of ſeveral noblemen, who ſeized every opportunity of diſturbing him in the execution of his office.

Among theſe were William earl of Saliſbury, and Rainulf earl of Cheſter, both of whom were ſtrongly ſuſpected of being diſaffected to the preſent government; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury having convoked a council at London, effected a reconciliation between the earls and the juſticiary, and threatened to excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould diſturb the peace of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the great care which the late and preſent miniſtry had taken to appeaſe the troubles of the nation, there were

were ſtill ſome ſeditious perſons, who embraced every occaſion to excite civil broils and commotions; nor was the party of Lewis as yet entirely extinguiſhed in the realm, as appeared by a riot which happened, about this time, at Weſtminſter.*

A wreſtling-match between the citizens of London, and the country-people in the neighbourhood, having been fought on the twenty-fifth of July, the Londoners had come off victorious. A ſteward belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter, who had been one of the combatants, was greatly piqued at the defeat he had received, and reſolved to revenge the ſuppoſed affront. With this view, he propoſed a ſecond trial of ſkill to be decided on the firſt of Auguſt, and a ram as the prize of the victors.

The Londoners flocked, in great numbers, to the place of diverſion; but there they were no ſooner arrived, than they were attacked by the ſteward, and a band of armed ruſtics, whom he had aſſembled for the purpoſe; and, after being cruelly maimed and wounded, were obliged to fly, and take refuge in the city.

The general body of the inhabitants, informed of this inſult offered to their fellow-citizens, took to arms, and determined to

* A. D. 1222.

be revenged upon the perfidious ſteward. Serle, the mayor, a man of a quiet and peaceable diſpoſition, endeavoured to quell the mob, and adviſed them to complain to the abbot of Weſtminſter, within whoſe juriſdiction the offence had been committed, and who would not fail to give them ſatisfaction; but this mild and moderate meaſure, was oppoſed by one Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf, a rich, factious, and popular citizen, who had been a zealous partizan of Lewis and the barons.

This incendiary, having harangued the rioters, and inflamed their paſſions to a degree of fury and madneſs, propoſed that they ſhould march againſt the abbot and his ſteward, and level their houſes with the ground.

The mob, greedy of plunder, and prone to revenge, readily embraced the propoſal; and Conſtantine putting himſelf at their head, proceeded to Weſtminſter, exclaiming *Mon joye St. Denis!* which was the war-word of the French; and having demoliſhed and pillaged a number of houſes, returned in triumph to the city.

The government of Henry, ever gentle, or rather languid in its meaſures, ſeems, at firſt, to have connived at theſe riotous proceedings, afraid, perhaps, of increaſing the

the diſaffection of the populace by puniſhing the delinquents. But this mild and moderate conduct, whether the effect of fear or lenity, was like to have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. The rioters, encouraged by their late ſucceſs, and hoping to eſcape with impunity, began to form a deeper and a more dangerous ſcheme. The day immediately ſucceeding the tumult, they again reſumed their arms, elected a new mayor, beat up publickly for ſoldiers, inliſted a number of volunteers, appointed a commander in chief, and to crown their other crimes with the guilt of ſacrilege, broke into the church of Weſtminſter, which they rifled of many valuable effects

Theſe tumultuary proceedings continued for ſeveral days, till the abbot complained to Philip Dawbeny, one of the council of ſtate, of the many inſults and injuries he had ſuſtained from the mob.

This accuſation, however juſt, enraged the rabble to ſuch a degree, that they attacked the abbot's houſe, forced his doors, carried off twelve of his horſes, abuſed and beat his ſervants, and would even have ſeized his own perſon, had he not found means to make his eſcape, while Philip Dawbeny was, in vain, endeavouring to

appeaſe their wrath, and perſuade them to diſperſe.

This ſeditious ſpirit was now become ſo prevalent, that the government found it neceſſary to prevent its further growth by ſome wholeſome ſeverities; eſpecially as it appeared, from the information of Walter Bokerell, a citizen of great wealth and credit, that the rioters had formed a regular and well-concerted conſpiracy againſt the ſtate. The king (mild and good-natured as he was) was ſo enraged at this intelligence, that he threatened to demoliſh the walls of London; but, finding that none were concerned in the plot but the meaneſt and loweſt of the rabble, he reſolved to proceed againſt them according to the regular courſe of law.

It appears, from an ancient book preſerved among the archives of the city, and containing an hiſtorical account of ſome of the moſt remarkable tranſactions during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. that, in the caſe of tumults and inſurrections, the chief juſticiary and the lords of the council were wont to come to the tower, or St. Martin's le Grand, to ſummon the magiſtrates, the principal citizens, and juries from twelve or more of the chief wards, to appear before them, and to call the offenders to an account for their conduct.

Accordingly

Accordingly Hubert de Burgh, eſcorted by a body of troops, repaired to the tower, and cited the mayor and magiſtrates of the city to make their appearance; and, after a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſe of the late commotions, it was found, that Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf, with his nephew, and one Geoffry, were the principal perſons concerned in exciting and encouraging the riot.

In conſequence of this diſcovery, they were ſeized and brought to trial; when Conſtantine, vainly preſuming upon the ſecurity which had been ſtipulated to Lewis's adherents, behaved in the moſt inſolent and arrogant manner; juſtifying what he had done; and, with unparallelled impudence, declaring that he would repeat the ſame conduct on the like occaſion.

Hubert upbraided him with his intolerable behaviour, adding, that nothing was ſtipulated in favour of thoſe who ſhould be guilty of acts of ſedition; and that he, and his two chief accomplices, ſhould be hanged next morning: a ſentence which was accordingly executed, notwithſtanding the large ſums which he offered for his ranſom.

Many of the other conſpirators were apprehended, and puniſhed with the amputation of their hands and feet; and the king expreſſed his reſentment againſt the city, by

turning the new mayor out of his office, and appointing another in his place, impoſing a heavy fine upon the inhabitants, and obliging them to deliver thirty hoſtages for their good behaviour.

This ſedition was the more dangerous, as many of the great barons were highly diſſatisfied with a decree, which had been lately made for the reſumption of the crown demeſnes. In proſecution of this plan, writs were now directed to the ſheriff of Somerſet, for reſuming certain lands in Somerton, poſſeſſed by Godfrey de Craucombe, and to ſome other ſheriffs, for ſeizing thoſe lands which were held by Fulk de Breant, and ſeveral other noblemen.

Many of the leſſer barons were obliged to comply with theſe injunctions; but ſome of the moſt powerful of them refuſed to part with what they conſidered as their lawful property; and, in order to deter the king from purſuing ſuch unpopular meaſures, began to ply him with freſh demands.

In a great council of the prelates and nobility, which was held on the thirteenth of January,* they deſired him to confirm the rights and privileges for which the war had been begun; and the oath he had taken upon the departure of Lewis, was alledged as a pretence for making this requeſt,

* A. D. 1223.

queſt, which was far from being reliſhed by thoſe who were then at the helm.

The court had, ſince the death of the earl of Pembroke, adopted new maxims; and when the parliament preſented their addreſs to the king, William Briwere replied, that it was unreaſonable to demand the execution of charters which had been extorted by force. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, offended at this imprudent anſwer, reprimanded Briwere with great ſeverity; adding, that if he really loved the king, whoſe intereſt he ſeemed ſo warmly to eſpouſe, he would not thus create jealouſies and ſuſpicions in the minds of his faithful ſubjects, nor endeavour to involve the kingdom in freſh troubles and calamities.

Henry himſelf, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, approved of what the archbiſhop had ſaid; declared it was his fixt reſolution to execute every article of the charters; and, agreeable to this declaration, ſent orders to all the ſheriffs in the kingdom, to ſee them carried into execution.

Soon after the breaking up of this council, the regent iſſued commiſſions for aſſeſſing a talliage on all cities, towns, and manors within his demeſnes, in order to enable him to oppoſe the progreſs of Llewellyn, prince of North-Wales, who had ravaged

ravaged the lands of William Mareſchal, taken two caſtles, and butchered the garriſon.

Hubert advanced to the Marches, at the head of a numerous army, in order to chaſtiſe this troubleſome neighbour; but the earl of Cheſter interceding for his friend Llewellyn, and undertaking that he would make ſatisfaction by a certain day, Hubert diſmiſſed his forces; and the Welſh prince, freed from the fear of puniſhment, forgot to fulfil his promiſe.

Mean while, William Mareſchal returning from Ireland, where he had been employed for a conſiderable time paſt, recovered the caſtles of Cardigan and Carmarthen, and retaliated upon the Welſh the injuries which his men had received from them.

Llewellyn, in order to prevent the ruin of his territories, which the earl of Pembroke was waſting with fire and ſword, aſſembled an army of nine thouſand men, with which he advanced to Tovy; but coming to an engagement, he met with a total rout; and the earl began to build a ſtrong caſile at Kilgarran, in order to check the incurſions of the enemy.

This work, however, he was obliged to leave unfiniſhed, being ſummoned to court, in order to compromiſe all his differences with the Welch prince, under the mediation

tion of Henry, who likewiſe furniſhed Llewellyn with a ſafe-conduct.

But all the king's good offices were rendered ineffectual by the treachery of Llewellyn, who no ſooner returned home, than he re-commenced hoſtilities, in conſequence of which he was excommunicated by archbiſhop Langton.

This prince having ſoon after inveſted the caſtle of Buelt, belonging to Reginald de Braouſe, the regent advanced to Glouceſter in order to give him battle; but Llewellyn, conſcious of his own inability to cope with ſuch a powerful antagoniſt, immediately raiſed the ſiege, and made his ſubmiſſion on the ſeventh of October, when he was abſolved by the archbiſhop, after having engaged to make ſatisfaction to Fulk Fitz-warren, whoſe caſtles he had demoliſhed.

The regent was the more eager to ſettle all diſputes with Llewellyn, as he had ſome reaſon to apprehend a war with France. Philip Auguſtus dying on the fourteenth of July, Henry's council ſent over ambaſſadors to congratulate Lewis on his acceſſion to the throne, and remind him of the promiſe he had made with regard to Normandy, and the other Provinces, of which John had been deprived by his father.

Lewis

Lewis replied, that he did not consider himself as obliged to the performance of a treaty which Henry had first infringed by exacting unreasonable ransoms from the prisoners, and neglecting to restore the ancient laws, according to the convention; that, for his part, he held Normandy and the other provinces taken from the English by right of conquest, and as lord paramount of these fiefs; and that if his right to them was disputed, he would support it by force of arms.

In a word, he was so far from giving up the English provinces he held in France, that he declared he would embrace the first opportunity of renewing his claim to the throne of England, in virtue of the grant he had received from the barons.

It was natural to conclude from this haughty and arrogant answer, that the truce between the two crowns, which was to expire at the ensuing Easter, would hardly be renewed. The regent, indeed, prevailed upon the pope to use his interest with Lewis for that purpose; but all the endeavours of his holiness proved ineffectual, though the crusade against the Albigenses furnished him with a plausible pretext for making the request.

This disposition of the French court was the more alarming, as England was

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in no condition to carry on a war with any probability of ſucceſs. The revenue of the crown was impaired by the many alienations of the royal demeſnes during the late commotions; the throne was filled by a minor; and a factious and turbulent nobility, actuated by ſelfiſh and intereſted views, hardly agreed in any meaſure but in diſturbing the harmony of government, and in undermining the power and influence of the chief juſticiary, who was guardian of the realm.

Incenſed, as they were, againſt Hubert de Burgh, on account of the late act for reſuming the lands and caſtles of the crown, they reſolved to deprive him of his authority.

It was no eaſy matter to effect this deſign by a decree of parliament, or by any other lawful and conſtitutional method; his diſtinguiſhed abilities, and incorruptible integrity; the uniform tenour of his conduct, which always beſpoke him the brave ſoldier, the ſteady patriot, and the accompliſhed ſtateſman; the great ſervices he had done his country, in preſerving it from foreign ſlavery and uſurpation; and the mildneſs and equity of his adminiſtration; all theſe circumſtances having concurred to render him the darling of the people.

It

It was, therefore, neceſſary to call in ſome foreign aſſiſtance, and none appeared to be ſo proper as the interceſſion of the pope. Accordingly Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, an implacable enemy of Hubert, was ſent to the court of Rome, to ſollicit Honorius to declare Henry of full age; and, on account of his prudence, which exceeded his years, ſufficiently capable of managing the affairs of the nation by himſelf and his council.

The pope made no difficulty in granting the requeſt of the biſhop; but he added a clauſe to the brief, which was, by no means, agreeable to the barons: he commanded them to deliver up all the caſtles, honours, and demeſnes of the crown, that were ſtill in their hands, under pain of excommunication.

This menace was little regarded by the earls and barons, who, far from complying with the pope's injunction, reſolved to maintain their ill-got power, even at the hazard of involving the nation in freſh troubles.

The earls of Cheſter and Albemarle, John de Lacy conſtable of Cheſter, Fulk de Breant, and Brian de L'iſle, were the moſt forward in concerting this rebellious project; and accompanied with a large party of armed men, they endeavoured to ſurpriſe London,

London; but, failing in the attempt, they retired with their forces to Waltham.

Langton and his ſuffragans, who were then in London, alarmed at this inſurrection, ſent a meſſage to the barons at Waltham, deſiring them to come to court and make ſatisfaction for their offence, and aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that they would employ their beſt offices with his majeſty in order to effect a reconciliation.

The barons obeyed the ſummons; but, inſtead of apologizing for their conduct, they behaved with the moſt intolerable arrogance and preſumption: they boldly juſtified their proceedings; declared they had done nothing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom; and inſiſted that his majeſty ſhould remove Hubert de Burgh from his perſon and councils for ever.

This motion was warmly ſeconded by the biſhop of Wincheſter; but all that they could obtain, was a promiſe of having their grievances redreſſed during the Chriſtmas holidays, which Henry, in compliance with their requeſt, agreed to keep at Northampton.

This place was very conveniently ſituated for the purpoſe of the conſpirators, as it lay in the midſt of their vaſſals, whom they could eaſily aſſemble at a minute's warning;

and, by ſurpriſing the perſon of their ſovereign, they thought they ſhould be able to force him to abandon Hubert to their mercy, and to comply with all their other demands.

Preparations were actually made for carrying this ſcheme into execution: but, the plot being diſcovered, effectual means were taken for defeating the project, Henry arriving at Northampton, with ſuch a number of prelates, earls, barons, knights and armed followers, as had not been ſeen for many years on the like occaſion.

The conſpirators, alarmed at his approach, retired to Leiceſter, from whence they ſent an inſolent meſſage to the king, importing, that if he would not deſiſt from demanding reſtitution of his lands and caſtles, and remove the juſticiary from his confidence and councils, they would take up arms againſt him, and compel him to ſubmit.

Henry was ſo provoked at this inſtance of arrogance and preſumption, that he ordered the biſhops to iſſue a ſentence of excommunication againſt all diſturbers of the public peace; and Langton ſent word to the mutinous barons, that he would excommunicate every individual of them by

by name, unleſs they would appear next day, and reſtore whatever they had uſurped from the crown.

This vigorous and ſpirited meaſure had the deſired effect: the conſpirators, ſtruck with the apprehenſion of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and deprived of all hopes of being ſupported by their fellow-ſubjects, repaired to Northampton on the morrow, reſigned the lands, caſtles, and honours which belonged to the crown, and renewed their oaths of fealty and allegiance to their ſovereign.

This tranquillity, however, was but of ſhort continuance.* Fulk de Breant, a man of mean birth, and unbounded ambition, had been raiſed by John to be one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen in England: having been of great ſervice to the king, in his war with the barons, he had obtained a grant of many lands and honours, and particularly of the caſtle of Bedford, forfeited by William de Beauchamp.

Inſolent in his temper, irreligious in his principles, and greedy and rapacious in his diſpoſition, he was hated and abhorred by the whole nation, eſpecially by the poorer ſort of people, whom he took every opportunity to harraſs and oppreſs.

* A. D. 1224.

He had lately ſeized the lands of no leſs than thirty-two freeholders, whom he ejected without ſuit or form of law; and had appropriated to himſelf ſome paſture-ground that was formerly common.

The perſons thus ejected ſued him for the recovery of their rights; and thirty-five verdicts (for each of which a fine of one hundred pounds was due to the crown) were given againſt Fulk, at the aſſizes of Dunſtaple before Martin de Patteſhulle, Thomas de Mulleon, and Henry de Bray-broke, the juſtices itinerant.

Fulk, enraged at this inſtance of ſeverity (as he thought proper to term it) endeavoured to ſeize the perſons of the judges; and though the firſt two eſcaped, he actually apprehended the laſt, impriſoned him in the caſtle of Bedford, which he immediately fortified, ſupplied with ſtore of arms and proviſions, and committed to the care of his brother William de Breant, with orders to hold it out to the laſt extremity.

Henry was holding a great council at Northampton, when he received the news of this revolt; and taking the advice of his prelates and nobility on the occaſion, it was unanimouſly reſolved that the place ſhould be

be beſieged. The trenches were accordingly opened on the ſixteenth of June, and the governour was ſummoned to ſurrender; but this he abſolutely refuſed to do, without an order from his brother, to whom alone he owed obedience; and, though the biſhops excommunicated Fulk, and all that were in the caſtle, he ſtill continued to hold out till the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, when, deſtitute of proviſions, and deprived of all hopes of relief, he ſubmitted at diſcretion. The governour, with four and twenty knights, were hanged *in terrorem*; and the reſt of the garriſon were pardoned.

Fulk de Breant himſelf, had fled to a place about three miles beyond Cheſter; but being apprehended by the biſhop of the dioceſe, he was carried to court, where, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of repentance, which were prbably ſincere; the merit of his former ſervices, which were certainly great; and the interceſſion of his friends, who were many and powerful; he was confined in cloſe priſon until he had reſigned his caſtles of Plympton and Stoke-Curcy, and then ſentenced by the verdict of his peers to abjure the realm.

All his eſtate, real and perſonal, was confiſcated; but his lady, who was entirely

innocent of his crimes, was ſuffered to enjoy her fortune, and committed to the care of the earl of Warren.

The caſtle of Bedford was demoliſhed; but the lands and honour belonging to it, were conferred upon William de Beauchamp, the lawful proprietor, who ought to have recovered them by the treaty with Lewis, though the power of his competitor had hitherto hindered him from obtaining his own. Fulk, upon his arrival in France, was impriſoned by Lewis; but ſoon after releaſed at the inſtance of the pope, who thought it his duty to protect all thoſe who had engaged in the cruſade. The pontiff likewiſe interceded with Henry to reſtore him to his eſtate and honours in England; but all his entreaties proved ineffectual, and Fulk, after leading an uncomfortable life for about two years, died abroad.

Theſe domeſtic broils were no ſooner compoſed, than Henry's attention was engaged by foreign wars. Lewis, not ſatisfied with refuſing to perform what he had promiſed at the concluſion of the treaty, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh provinces in France, and accordingly, about the middle of ſummer, marched into Poitou, and inveſted Niort.

Savary

Savary de Mauleon defended the place, for ſome time, with great bravery; but at laſt, deſpairing of any relief, was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation. St. John d'Angeli, ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons; and Lewis advanced to Rochelle, which he immediately beſieged, and, having erected his machines, battered the caſtle with great fury for nine days ſucceſſively.

Savary de Mauleon had thrown himſelf into this fortreſs, with three hundred knights and a ſtrong party of ſoldiers, and, by making frequent ſallies upon the enemy, had almoſt obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, when they were treacherouſly admitted into the place by ſome of the citizens; ſo that the Engliſh were obliged to retire to their ſhips, and ſet ſail for England.

Savary had been long the chief ſupport of the Engliſh intereſt in Poitou; but, notwithſtanding his many and faithful ſervices, his conduct was now miſrepreſented, his honour was ſupected, and a reſolution was even taken to arreſt him.

Of this, however, he was no ſooner informed, than he fled to France, and applied for protection to Lewis, who readily received him with open arms, glad of an opportunity to reward that merit which the Engliſh knew not how to value.

After

After the reduction of Rochelle, the king of France proceeded in his conquests without interruption; all the nobility of Limousin and Perigirt did him homage, and he soon subdued the whole country as far as the river Garanne.

In order to oppose the progress of Lewis, Henry resolved to send an army to the Continent, and to defray the expences of this expedition he laid a tax of one fifteenth upon all moveables throughout the kingdom.

The books of the clergy, the ornaments of churches, the jewels, horses, and armour of knights, and all carriages and implements of husbandry were exempted from this imposition, which was assessed by four legal knights in each county, and amounted, in the whole, to fifty-nine thousand marks, besides five thousand given by the Jews, and two thousand by the Cestertians.

The people submitted to this tax with the greater alacrity, as the two charters were again confirmed by Henry, who was now in the eighteenth year of his age. At the same time, copies of the charters were transmitted into every county in order to be publickly read, though with this extraordinary proviso, that none should

ſhould enjoy the benefit of thoſe charters, but ſuch as contributed to the exigences of the ſtate, unleſs they were diſabled from doing ſo by their extreme poverty.

As it was ſtill apprehended that the ſum raiſed by this tax, however conſiderable, would hardly be ſufficient to defray the expences of the war, orders were likewiſe iſſued for all lay-men of full age, who held a knight's fee, and had not yet been knighted, to come to court and receive the honour of knighthood before the cloſe of Eaſter, on pain of forfeiting their eſtates.

Thus ſupplied, Henry levied an army, and equipped a fleet for an expedition into Guienne, under the command of his brother Richard, whom he knighted, and created earl of Cornwall, an honour which had fallen to the crown upon the death of Henry Fitz-Comte, about three years before.

He likewiſe made him a grant of the whole county of Poitou, and, in order to recommend him the more effectually to the Poitevin nobility, he gave him the title of count of that province.

Prince

Prince Richard, thus loaded with honours, and accompanied by the earl of Saliſbury, and Philip de Albiney, ſet ſail from England with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, and, on the twenty third of March, landed ſafely at Bourdeaux.*

He was received with great joy by the inhabitants of the place, who were very averſe to the French government; and, having reinforced his army, by a conſiderable number of volunteers, he directed his march through Gaſcony, where he obliged all perſons to ſwear fealty to his brother.

His firſt attempt was upon St. Macaire, which he eaſily reduced; but the ſiege of La Reole was a work of greater difficulty. After having lain before the place for a conſiderable time, the count of la Marche advanced to its relief with a ſtrong body of French and Poitevins; but, falling into an ambuſcade, he was ſuddenly attacked, and totally routed. The garriſon of la Reole being thus deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance, immediately ſurrendered, and their example was ſoon followed by that of Bergeral.

* A. D. 1225.

Such

Such were the trifling advantages gained by the Engliſh in this expedition; nor would they have been long able to retain even theſe, had not Lewis been perſuaded, by the joint importunities of the pope, the king of Arragon, and Aimery de Montfort, to engage in the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes; and, on that account, to neglect the war in Guienne.

The End of the NINTH VOLUME.